

Region XI. *Circus Maximus*

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1. Introduction

Augustan *Regio XI*, *Circus Maximus*, included the valley between Palatine Hill and Aventine Hill (*vallis Murcia*); it extended out to the bank of the Tiber and included a large part of the Forum Boarium.¹ Its estimated surface area of 182,000 square meters makes it one of the smallest *Regiones* in Rome. Only the *Templum Pacis* (Regio IV) is smaller. Its borders enclose the modern city's central archaeological area: the remains of Circus Maximus itself (XI 1; fig. 151); the temples near the Forum Boarium, namely the temple of Portunus (known as the Temple of Fortuna Virilis or "Manly Fortune"; XI 2; fig. 152) and the Temple of Hercules Olivarius (erroneously called the Temple of Vesta; XI 97; fig. 156); the remains of the Cloaca Maxima (XI 31; fig. 153); the so-called Arch of Janus Quadrifrons (XI 98; fig. 154); the remains of the *ara Maxima* complex near the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (XI 109–10); and the mithraeum below the Museums of Rome building (*Palazzo dei Musei di Roma*; XI 21; fig. 155). The ancient roadways have survived in the paths of the primary roads of the modern city. The two roads that run alongside Circus Maximus (XI 42, 336)—*via dei Cerchi* to the north and *via del Circo Massimo* to the south—follow the paths of the ancient road that encircled the building (*via e foro Boario ad Veneris circa foros publicos*).² The ancient *clivus Publicius* (XI 19, 183) came down from the summit of Aventine Hill (from the place where the Church of Sant'Alessio now stands) along the route of the modern *via dei Publicii*. The road that continues from it, *via della Greca*, followed a path running from the *porta Trigemina* to the Sublician Bridge (XI 105). *Via Petroselli* and *via di Santa Maria* in Cosmedin reproduce the ancient route that crossed the Forum Boarium (XI 15, 22, 75, 78, 94), which was rebuilt many times on different levels from the Republican period through to the Middle Ages. *Via di Ponte Rotto* in front of the Temple of Portunus follows the line of *vicus Lucei*, which led from the *Velabrum* to the Aemilius Bridge (XI 381).

1.1. A brief note regarding the development of urban planning

From the end of the Roman Empire and throughout the medieval period, this section of the city was progressively filled with houses, shops, and gardens that slowly took up every free space among the vestiges of the ancient monuments. The break with traditional landscape development there seems to have been hastened by a disastrous event—possibly the great flood of 589—that led to the progressive abandoning of the classical-age buildings.³ After that, the area was inhabited in a different way. Habitation was no longer focused around the area of the Forum Boarium, which had once hosted livestock and the most ancient cults, but was instead clustered around the centers of the Christian faith.

The continuity of occupation in the area was ensured by the placement of a diaconia near the *ara Maxima* around the sixth century. This was a religious body dedicated to

providing care for the poor and other charitable activities. At the beginning of the seventh century, the first Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin was built atop the ancient Roman monument. It was originally known as *in Schola Graeca*, due to the fact that it was entrusted to a colony of Greek monks. In addition to the church's name (which probably comes from a monastery called *Cosmedion* near Constantinople), this Eastern presence is also indicated by the toponyms *Ripa Graeca*, which indicated this zone, and the modern-day *via della Greca*, that runs along the right side of the church.

Over the following centuries, the other pagan temples were also transformed into churches. The Temple of Portunus (erroneously called the Temple of Fortuna Virilis) became the ninth-century Church of Santa Maria Egiziaca (St. Mary of Egypt). The round Temple of Hercules Olivarius was converted into a church that was first named Santo Stefano delle Carrozze in the twelfth century⁴ and then Santa Maria del Sole in the seventeenth. The entire square in front of Santa Maria in Cosmedin was occupied by houses and shops that were built around the church and often in contact with the ancient structures. The area around Circus Maximus was instead buried in flood debris and became agricultural land. Only a small part of that area was used for houses, a small cluster of which arose over the course of the high medieval period near the remains of the ancient structure's semicircle. Among these houses there was also a mill, powered by the flow of water that ran farther downhill (Marrana dell'Acqua Crabra). In the twelfth century, the monks of San Gregorio built the Torre della Moletta to protect this village. This tower is still visible next to the remains of the circus in piazza di Porta Capena. Shortly after its construction, the tower was acquired by the Frangipane family, who made it into one of the key defensive points of their property on Palatine Hill.⁵

As testified by Nolli's plan from the 1700s, the area was still dedicated primarily to vegetable gardens at that time. The property was split between the Marquis del Bufalo and the nearby monasteries of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, of Sant'Eligio dei Ferrari, and of San Silvestrino. The southern side of the valley belonged to the Jews of Rome, who used it as a cemetery. The land was assigned to them in 1645 as compensation for the property they had lost near the Church of San Francesco a Ripa in Trastevere, due to the construction of the new *porta Portese* walls.⁶

Piazza Bocca della Verità takes its name (the Mouth of Truth) from the famous mask in Pavonazzetto marble (originally either a fountain or a sewer hole cover) that was placed in the walls of the portico of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin. The square's current appearance is the product of a series of interventions that modified it during the modern period.⁷ Until the end of the 1600s, the open area was used for dumping waste from work done in the city, and its ground level was higher than the church. The ground level was brought back down to its current height in 1715, when the area in front of the church was organized to include the Fontana dei Tritoni (Fountain of the

Tritons), just as it is today. The difference in altitude between the level of the plaza and Lungotevere Road (so named because it runs alongside the Tiber) is due to the construction of a massive embankment wall that ran from Ponte Milvio to the Basilica di San Paolo *fuori le mura* (St. Paul outside the walls), which was one of the greatest public works undertaken when Rome became capital of Italy. It was designed after the exceptional flood of 1870, but the section under Aventine Hill was only completed in 1926.

In 1878, a large building was built to the right of the church, which served first as the site of the Società dei Molini e del Pastificio Pantanella (a large baked goods company). Starting in 1930, it then housed the Museum of Rome (*Museo di Roma*) before being closed during World War II. From 1952 on it has been the site of the *Uffici Comunali* or City Hall administrative offices. The warehouses behind it that face onto Circus Maximus house the Foundation for the Opera Theater of Rome (*Fondazione del Teatro dell'Opera di Roma*), with the opera's scenography workshops and costume storage. The square before them was previously known as piazza dei Cerchi, which took its name from a corruption of the circo toponym. Until the mid-1800s, public executions were performed there.

The most substantial changes came about during the Fascist period, when it was decided that the monuments of the Forum Boarium would be isolated and the buildings around them demolished in order to redesign the roads that ran from the Theater of Marcellus to the Bocca della Verità. The 1931 Planning Regulations (*Piano Regolatore*) foresaw that via del Mare, a new road that would connect the center of the city with the coast, would run along the paths of via Bocca della Verità (now called via Petroselli), Lungotevere Aventino, via Marmorata, and via Ostiense. In 1935, piazza Bocca della Verità was also included in the demolitions that were designed to free the ancient structures from the newer structures and to create a green area in the city. This is what gave the place its current arrangement.⁸

After the failure of the so-called *Zona Monumentale* project of 1887, which would have made the valley of Circus Maximus into a public park, the area was illegally occupied by industrial plants. These included the gasometer (1852–1910), tram deposits, warehouses, and small factories. In 1934, the Jewish cemetery was rapidly dismantled to allow for the construction of the new via del Circo Massimo, and the cypresses that had stood in the cemetery were transplanted to the nearby *piazzale Romolo e Remo*. At the foot of Palatine Hill, along via dei Cerchi, numerous buildings were destroyed, including the ancient and quite dilapidated Church of Santa Maria dei Cerchi. The medieval buildings and the ancient mills in the valley were also demolished. The flow of La Marrana was channeled into large pipes. The Torre dei Frangipane was isolated from newer structures and restored. In 1936, the circus was temporarily granted by the Governorate to the National Fascist Party who, without any regard for the ancient structures there, used it as an exhibition area.

They built buildings, pavilions, accessories, and leisure facilities. For the *Mostra Autarchica del Minerale Italiano* (the Self-sufficiency of Italian Minerals Exhibition), even the ruins of the circus's semicircle were partially demolished in order to construct the reinforced concrete structures of a pavilion. The area was cultivated once more during World War II, when it was used for the so-called war gardens, which remained until the beginning of the 1960s.

1.2. The region according to the Regionary Catalogues

As we have reconstructed them based on the monuments in the fourth-century Regionary Catalogues, the limits of *Regio XI* stretched between the *pons Sublicius* (ponte Sublicio) to the south and the *pons Aemilius* (ponte Emilio) to the north. From the bridge in the north, the limit probably ran along the road identified as *vicus Lucei* before continuing toward the quadrifrons so-called Arch of Janus. Along the foot of Palatine Hill, it must have coincided with the continuation of *vicus Tuscus* (which is partially traced by the modern via di San Teodoro) and the road that ran along the northern side of Circus Maximus (via dei Cerchi). This limit may be represented on fragment n. 39395 of the Severan *Forma Urbis*. The road on the marble plan is painted red.⁹ Beyond the curved side of Circus Maximus, where piazza di Porta Capena is today, the border briefly followed the path of *vicus portae Raudusculanae*. Instead, on the southern side, the border ran along the foot of the slopes of Aventine Hill, above via del Circo Massimo, before continuing on to *pons Sublicius*. Reconstructed in this manner, the perimeter of Augustan *Regio XI* measured approximately 2,500 meters in length. The measurement reported in the Regionary Catalogues (11,500 Roman feet in both *Curiosum* and *Notitia*) would instead amount to 3,400 meters. The additional length may be due to some imprecision in the identification of the limits.¹⁰

At the time that the Catalogues were made (around the mid-fourth century AD) they both listed ten monuments, presenting them in order starting at Circus Maximus and going through Forum Boarium before concluding in the *Velabrum*. Both lists began with the most important cult of Circus Maximus, which worshipped the Sun. Its temple was also consecrated to the Moon and was found in the sector of the circus just south of the center. Provided our identifications are correct, the next two monuments named in the *Curiosum* seem to indicate the two edges of the zone of the circus: the Temple of Mercury to the west and the Temple of Mater Deum and Jupiter Arborator to the east. *Notitia* inverts the order of these two and places the *XII Portae*—which were the starting gates of the circus (*carceres*)—earlier in the list. The Temple of Dis Pater is listed only in the *Notitia* and appears before the cult of Ceres. The Temple of Ceres was at the foot of Aventine Hill, in contact with the *carceres*. This cult is followed in both Catalogues by *porta Trigemina*, which was found at the foot of the hill where it opened onto the Tiber. From there, the two lists follow the same order, naming *Apollo Caelsipex*, whose statue would be found in the Forum

Boarium on the road that led to the *carceres*; *Hercules Olivarius*, which was the round temple farther north along the Tiber; the *Velabrum*, which was intended as the area bordered by *vicus Tuscus*; and the *arcus Divi Costantini*, a quadrifrons arch that still stands before the Church of San Giorgio al Velabro. The *Fortunium*, which can be identified as the Temple of Portunus, is named only in the *Curiosum*, where it is listed before the arch and represents the end of the path along the Tiber.

Also reported within the region were either 21 or 28 small neighborhoods (*vici*), 18 or 21 small shrines (*aediculae*), 2,500 apartment buildings (*insulae*), 88 residences (*domūs*), 16 warehouses (*horrea*), 15 baths (*balnea*), 20 fountains (*laci*), and 16 bakeries (*pistrina*). As always, the administration of the region was in the care of two officials (*curatores*) and 48 chiefs of the districts (*vicomagistri*). In this region, 481 topographical units have been identified so far. Their description by chronological period will follow a route that goes from the Forum Boarium to Circus Maximus.

2. The places and the story

2.1. From the pre- and proto-urban period (circa 1050–circa 775 BC) to the early kingdom (circa 775/750–616 BC)

In the area that would become *Regio XI*, at the foot of Capitoline Hill and Palatine Hill, there was originally a large, low plain (5–6 meters below sea level): the *Velabrum*. It faced onto the bank of the *Albula* (the ancient name for the Tiber)¹¹ and was bordered by woods that spread out over the slopes of the hill, where flows of water slowly trickled down from the *Argiletum* until they reached the river. The stream at the bottom of the Murcia Valley between Palatine Hill and Aventine Hill also opened up into the *Velabrum*, forming a single large plain.¹² The plain must have been dry during the summer, or perhaps just marked by scattered little pools fed by the springs that bubbled up on the slopes of the hills. The springs were hidden among the oaks, laurel trees, wild figs, poplar trees, and blueberry bushes that covered the slopes where natural caves opened up. When the Tiber was full, the plain was flooded with water, creating a swampy bend in the river,¹³ which could be navigated by ferries (*lintres*).¹⁴ From the earliest times, the margins of the *Velabrum* had been a site of meeting and exchange, as it was located at the crossroads of the river—which could more easily be crossed at that point due to the presence of Tiber Island—and the ancient route that ran from the coast inland to the Apennines (which would later become via Campana-Salaria).

The ancients report that there were landing areas for boats in the area, as well as religious sites that were both frequented and founded by gods and heroes in the mythical past. That area was at the foot of the most ancient settlement on the site of Rome, which according to ancient myths was split between *Saturnia*, the kingdom of Saturn atop Capitoline Hill (*Regio VIII*), and the small shepherds' village on Palatine Hill

that was led by Cacus, son of Vulcan and the mythical king of the Siculi (*Regio X*). It was in this location, leading into the valley of Murcia at the foot of Aventine Hill, that two colonizing ships of the Arcadian king Evander landed sixty years before the Trojan War (1253 BC). These ships founded a settlement atop Palatine Hill called *Pallantion*, which drove Cacus to find refuge in a cave on the slopes of Aventine Hill.

Evander is said to have founded two cults, one feminine and one masculine, both of an agrarian character. These were practiced at a sacred site (*ieròn*) dedicated to Demeter (as identified with Ceres; XI 383)¹⁵ that was placed at the entrance to the valley of Murcia, closer to the boat landing and in a sacred enclosure (*tèmenos*) dedicated to Poseidon Hippios (as identified with Consus; XI 185), which was placed on the eastern edge of the same valley.¹⁶ While both were important in their historical period, they were always considered foreign cults.¹⁷ The Arcadians themselves established the festival of the *Hippokrateia* (which was called *Consualia* by the Romans) in the valley, wherein the horses and mules were given rest from their work and crowned with flowers.

In 1235 BC, Hercules came to the site of Rome on his return trip from the Island of Erytheia (Spain). He traveled with the Argivi (or *Argei*) Greeks and brought the cattle of the giant Geryon with him. While the cattle grazed in a grassy area next to the woods near the boat landing, Cacus stole them and hid them in his lair. Hercules flushed him out and killed him. Evander dedicated an altar (*ara Evandri*) to Hercules in gratitude, which is known in the literature as the *ara Maxima* of Hercules (XI 188). The hero was later known as *Invictus* on account of this victory.¹⁸ On that occasion, Evander is said to have also dedicated a statue to the same hero, which was later called Hercules *Triumphalis* (XI 408).¹⁹ According to other versions of the same myth, the altar was consecrated by Hercules himself or by a figure called Tricaranus (who can be identified with the hero), or even dedicated to the cult of Pater Inventor (XI 204), which would have made it the most ancient altar to this god.²⁰ From that period on, the rite would be officiated by the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii gentes* in a *sacellum* within an enclosure (*consaeptum sacellum*).²¹ That sanctuary did not have any cult building (*fanum*), and was fitted with just one altar.²² In it, oxen were sacrificed, and the relics of the cult were kept: the club and the wooden bowl (*scyphus* of Hercules).²³

The ancient sources tell of a mythical lair placed near the boat landing to justify the origins of a processional ceremony called “of the Argei,” which had been repeated each year in Rome since time immemorial and concluded on the Tiber (see following proto-urban phase).²⁴ The Argei have been recognized as the same Argivan or Achaean princes who upon arrival in Saturnia, were killed by exposure and thrown into the Tiber.²⁵ In order to avoid this sacrifice, Hercules substituted the men with dummies made of reeds (*scirpae effigies* or *simulacra*),²⁶ which were thrown into the river (instead of the men) from an early bridge, the predecessor of *pons Sublicius* (XIV 2500). This bridge was built by Hercules himself in front of the boat landing.²⁷

Ovid tells us that near this site the sacred wood of *Stimula*²⁸ (XI 417), the goddess of “prodding” or “pains” (*stimulì*), or of Semele (and perhaps Libera)²⁹ was found. Supposedly, Ino (Semele’s sister and Melicertes’s mother) came to this site. After their suicide, the Nereids transformed the mother and son into Leucothea and Palaemon, sea and port divinities. Leucothea supposedly met the Ausonian Maenads (who had come with Evander) in the woods, where they celebrated the Dionysian rites. Hera had not forgiven Ino for having raised Dionysus (Liber), who was born out of Zeus’s adultery. Zeus’s wife urged the Maenads to attack Leucothea, but she was saved by Hercules. After having delivered her to Evander’s mother, Carmenta, Hercules announced that a cult would be dedicated to her under the name Mater Maruta (VIII 686) along with her son, who would be deified as Portunus (XI 2).

The myths linked to this ancient landing place come together in Virgil’s tale of Aeneas’s legendary arrival with the third and final Greek expedition, which reached this point after the conclusion of the Trojan War (1184 BC). By that time, Evander was an old man. He welcomed the heroes by guiding them around the swamps of the *Velabrum* and through these mythical locations to the woods of Hercules.³⁰

The memory of another ancient cult was maintained until the imperial period.³¹ It was connected to sacred woods that were probably on the banks of the Tiber where it met the southwestern slopes of Palatine Hill (XI 416). The cult was called *lucus Helerni*, after the underworld goddess who was worshipped there.³²

Based on the stories of the ancients, the landing was a crucial point for maintaining control of the Tiber’s inlet, where the settings for the mythical tales of foreign cults are concentrated.³³ That was the point at which salt would arrive from the mouth of the river, in what would later be the *Salinae* (XI 136), along with the livestock that would give rise to the Forum Boarium and *portus Tiberinus* (see *Regio IX*) in front of it.³⁴

In the pre-urban period, when the site of Rome was settled by the *populi Albenses*, the area of later *Regio XI* was occupied by the *Velienses*. The region spread at the foot of Velian and Palatine Hills, on which this same group would have settled.³⁵

The cult of Murcia dates from this period. It was located in the valley of the same name and on Aventinus Minor, which had been known as *mons Murcus* and which would later be included in Augustan *Regio XII*.³⁶ The altar of Murcia, which was called *vetus* due to its age, was located on the southeastern edge of the valley, in a myrtle grove at the foot of the hill (XI 202).³⁷ Murcia’s name came from the myrtle trees themselves.³⁸ She was a female fertility goddess identified with Fauna, who in turn was the daughter of the pre-urban divine king of Latium, Faunus (the spirit of the woods and forests). A myth says that Fauna resisted the amorous advances of her father, who then beat her with a myrtle branch and forced her to drink wine until she became

drunk. According to one variation of the same myth, Faunus succeeded in seducing her by taking on the shape of a snake.³⁹ The ancients also recognized Murcia/Fauna as *Bona Dea*, whose sanctuary was quite near, at the foot of the *Saxum*, which was the saddle of *mons Murcus* (XII 5).

We can date the earliest procession of the Argei to the period of the *Septimontium*,⁴⁰ the unified settlement of the villages on the *montes* and *colles* (Latium Period IIB, starting in the second quarter of the ninth century BC). This is based on the fact that the ceremony was endowed with a particularly significant attention to the districts. The procession had stages in each of the twenty-seven *curiae* in which the settlement was divided. In each of these twenty-seven, there was a *sacellum* of the Argei. It was the second of two annual processions and fell on May 15. It concluded at the ancient boat landing on the Tiber, and nearby, dummies made from reeds (as described above) were thrown into the river. According to this interpretation, this ceremony was held at the entrance to the settlement on the river and served to purify the *Septimontium* with the flow of the river's water.

After the city was founded, *Regio XI* was located just outside the inaugurated city limits on Palatine Hill and made up part of the territory of the peri-urban districts.⁴¹ The agrarian cult of Ceres (Demeter), with her *paredros* (attendant) Liber (Dionysus) at her side, was practiced in this period with two celebrations. These were on April 19 (*Cerialia*) and March 17 (*Liberalia*), respectively, and were already present in the archaic "Numan" calendar. During the *Cerialia* in April, the first harvest of fruits and vegetables were offered, probably in an underground cavity (*mundus*),⁴² and a pregnant sow (*porca preacidanea*) was sacrificed.⁴³ These rites demonstrate that the cult had an underworld character as well as the agrarian one. Within the mythic structure, this corresponded to the abduction of Ceres's daughter, Kore-Proserpina (Liberia). Hades dragged Proserpina down to the underworld to make her his wife.⁴⁴

The valley of Murcia was also the setting of a mythical episode linked to the founding hero of the city: the rape of the Sabine women.⁴⁵ Near the underground altar of Consus that had just been rediscovered, Romulus organized horse races in honor of the god (*Consualia*),⁴⁶ with the intention of abducting women from neighboring groups at the celebrations.⁴⁷ *Consualia* were held on August 21 on the southern side of Palatine Hill, with a horse race in what would later become Circus Maximus. This myth represented the reformation of the cult of Consus (also identified as Neptune or Equestrian Neptune)⁴⁸ in the valley of Murcia, which was designated for competitions, meetings, and collective marriages. Consus became the protector of meetings with outside communities (Consus is from *consilium*, "meeting"),⁴⁹ as well as guardian of agrarian activities (from *condere*, "keep in a closed location," which refers to the storage of cereals underground).⁵⁰

Sacrifices were also made at the altar of Consus on July 7 (the day of the *nonae Caprotinae*) for the harvest of emmer

wheat. On that day, according to tradition, Romulus passed away in the *palus Caprae* (see *Regio IX*) during a solar eclipse (*solis defectio*).⁵¹ Titus Tatius, the Sabine king with whom Romulus split the kingdom, dedicated an altar to the Sun (XI 399) in that same valley. The cult would later become the principal cult of the circus.⁵² On the slopes of Aventine Hill, the same king dedicated an altar to *Summanus* (XI 208).⁵³ The dedication to the god of nocturnal thunder⁵⁴ was made on the summer solstice, when the sun was highest (*summus*). The ancients claimed that the Sabine king was responsible for the introduction of one more cult,⁵⁵ that of the moon or Luna (XI 388). Another altar was dedicated to her somewhere in the valley of Murcia, near the spot where it would later be located during the imperial period.⁵⁶ The agrarian and underworld/funerary nature of Consus was already supported by three female divinities in this period: Seia, Messia, and Tutulina (XI 387, 389, 391). They were, respectively, the goddesses of sowing (*seges*), of the harvest (*messio*), and of the conservation of cereals (*tutela*). Their worship was extremely popular in the time of Numa.⁵⁷

In the nearby woods of *Stimula*, orgiastic dances were held in remembrance of the rites of the Ausonian Maenads. Only married women (*matronae*) were permitted in the dances. They were dressed as Maenads and said to be possessed by them. The matrons would run from the woods to the Tiber to dip torches into the river that would miraculously not be extinguished.⁵⁸

2.2. Late kingdom (616–509 BC)

The age of the Tarquins saw a deep change in the landscape of *Regio XI*. Up until that point, the area comprised the swamps of the *Velabrum* and spent most of the year underneath the Tiber's floodwaters. These waters were drained by the *cloaca Maxima* (XI 31). Its construction was attributed by the ancients to either Tarquin the Elder or Tarquin the Proud. Another large sewer was built along the valley of Murcia (XI 9), in the vicinity of Circus Maximus, to collect the water runoff from Aventine Hill, Caelian Hill, and Palatine Hill that hitherto had flowed along the surface.⁵⁹

This period may have been when a vast area was established in *Regio XI* to host the city market. Up until that time, the market had been in the Roman Forum. We can imagine that this open area sat at the southernmost part of the region and partially extended into *Regio VIII*.⁶⁰ This was the primitive area that would become the Forum Boarium, where goods that had just arrived via the Tiber were sold.

The construction of new city walls has been attributed to Servius Tullius. For the first time, the walls encircled the entire settlement. The section between Capitoline Hill and Aventine Hill is difficult to reconstruct since the area later underwent massive building projects that almost completely obliterated the most ancient structures there.⁶¹ We have no archeological proof that the archaic walls followed the same path in this period as they would in the Republican period, when they ran parallel to the Tiber (see § 2.4). It is, however,

likely that the even more ancient walls (of which no remains have been found) were slightly farther back. One of the two gates that led into this region, the *porta Flumentana* (XI 407), may have been located a short distance from the foot of Capitoline Hill, in the valley of the *Velabrum*. According to the ancients, the name of this gate came from the fact that part of the river's water flowed through it, which would have been likely in an area subject to flooding.⁶²

The extremely ancient cult of *Portunus* may also date back to this period, despite archeological evidence only going back as far as the middle of the Republic (XI 2), when it can be placed outside of *porta Flumentana*. Portunus was the protector of *portus Tiberinus* (see *Regio IX*), which opened onto the Tiber in the north and which tradition attributed to Servius Tullius. The festivals in his honor (*Portunalia*) fell on August 17.⁶³ After having crossed through the *Velabrum*, the walls continued toward Aventine Hill. At the foot of that hill stood *porta Trigemina* (XI 203), which was near the *ara Maxima* and the *Salinae*. These were at the bottom of a path leading up to the summit of Aventine Hill (what would later become *clivus Publicius*) or near where the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin stands today.⁶⁴ Nothing is certain regarding the origins of the name *porta Trigemina*. According to some, it may refer to its shape, which may have been similar to a threshold with three archways.⁶⁵ Another possibility is that the name is connected to Hecate. Among her epithets was *tergemina* or “born into three,” which alluded to her three names.⁶⁶ The goddess had witnessed Hades's abduction of Kore-Proserpina (*Libera*) and assisted Demeter (*Ceres*) in her search for her daughter. The site of the cult of *Ceres* (XI 383) was in the immediate vicinity of *porta Trigemina*.⁶⁷ In its most ancient phase, this gate may have also been called *Minucia* because there was an altar or a *sacellum* to *Minucius* just outside of it (XI 342).⁶⁸

The *pomerium*, the sacred line that marked the inaugurated part of the city, had until that point been limited to Palatine Hill. With the construction of the new walls, its limits were enlarged. The new *pomerium* cut the valley of Murcia in half, passing through the Altar of *Consus* (XI 185) and the *ara Maxima* (XI 110), and left Aventine Hill excluded from the inaugurated territory.⁶⁹ This same line also marked the border between the Servian urban *Regio IV (Palatina)*, which included the northern side of the valley, and the peri-urban pagus *Aventinensis*, which included the southern side of the valley.⁷⁰ The city's first circus was built along this sacred border, where the horse races in honor of *Consus* were held in the period of kings. It was destined to become the greatest of the circuses, and, for that reason, it was called *Maximus* (XI 1).⁷¹

The literary sources attribute the circus's establishment to either Tarquin the Elder,⁷² Servius Tullius,⁷³ or both of them.⁷⁴ At the time it was created, it consisted simply of a delimited area with wooden benches for the spectators, called “*fori*,”⁷⁵ and a scaffolding that held up a wooden roof above them. Tarquinius Priscus, who successfully pushed the enemy back to the walls during a Sabine War, is also

said to have been responsible for the establishment of the equestrian orders.⁷⁶ This event was celebrated with important annual games called the *ludi Romani* or *ludi Magni*, which were dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus.

It can be hypothesized that there may have been duplication in this period of the three cults of *Seia*, *Messia*, and *Tutulina*, indicated by plural declensions in the literature (*Seiae*, *Messiae*, *Tutulinae*).⁷⁷ This may have been connected to the introduction of wheat in a second cycle of cultivation, in addition to the existing cycle of emmer.⁷⁸ Statues of these three goddesses were found before three altars.⁷⁹ However, there were six altars in total, with another three dedicated to gods called *Magni*, *Potentes*, and *Valentes*.⁸⁰ These gods were identified with the gods of Samothrace and the six planets of the astronomical system of the ancients.⁸¹ According to this reconstruction, Circus Maximus would have been set up from the beginning as a representation of the cosmos. The altar of the Sun, in the center of the line around which the chariots raced, was flanked by the cults connected with the Moon (XI 388), Mercury (XI 390), and Venus (XI 392) on one side, and Mars (XI 395), Jupiter (XI 397), and Saturn (XI 401) on the other side. At the two ends of this line were the two oldest cults representing the Earth (*Ceres*, XI 383) and the Sea (*Consus*, XI 185). The central axis line of the circus (*spina*) had its ends marked with symbols known as *metae*. The chariots raced around this line, which marked the limit between the city and the outside world, and also symbolized the agrarian cycle of the Sun's death and rebirth.⁸²

The cult of *Fortuna Virilis* may also be traced back to the reign of Servius Tullius, along with her *sacellum* that opened onto Murcia.⁸³ On the first day of April, the procession of plebeian women began at that *sacellum*. The procession came to an end in *Regio XII*, where the goddess's statue was immersed in a pool of water to ensure fertility (in what would become the *piscina Publica* in the Republican period; XII 185).⁸⁴

During the reign of the Tarquins, the ceremony of the triumph was instituted, replacing the more ancient *ovatio*.⁸⁵ The triumphal procession of the victorious generals entered the city through the *porta Triumphalis* (VIII 523), where it crossed over the line of the *pomerium*. It then followed *vicus Iugarius* (VIII 74) and *vicus Tuscus* (VIII 139) to the point where it entered *Regio XI* and crossed the Forum Boarium. When it reached the *ara Maxima*, it turned toward the circus and then passed in front of the statue of *Hercules triumphalis* (XI 408). This *simulacrum*—with an archaic appearance that the ancients attributed to Evander—was dressed in a purple toga, victor's clothing, for the occasion.⁸⁶ The Sanctuary of *Hercules* in the Forum Boarium seems to have been closely connected to the triumphal march and the ideology of victory from this period on. We know that during the triumphal marches, banquets were also given in a sanctuary of *Hercules*, perhaps the one in the Forum Boarium.⁸⁷ Wine with honey (*mulsum*) was served during the banquet. This drink was also connected to the cult of Jupiter, whom we know was linked

to the *ara Maxima*.⁸⁸ The procession then crossed Circus Maximus and left the *Regio*, heading toward the Roman Forum before coming to an end at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on Capitoline Hill (VIII 64).⁸⁹

2.3. The early Republic (509–396 BC)

A famine struck Rome during a war against the Latins, and Aulus Postumius Albinus sought an answer in the *libri Sibyllini* on the night before the Battle of Lake Regillus (499 BC). The books indicated that the dictator should vow a temple to Ceres and her attendants, Liber and Libera (XI 182).⁹⁰ Consul Spurius Cassius Viscellinus dedicated the temple in 493 BC, on the day of the ancient festival of the *Cerialia* (April 19).⁹¹ The building was decorated by artists from Magna Graecia (Damophilus and Gorgasus)⁹² and survived until 31 BC, when it was destroyed by fire.⁹³ This can be placed on the northwestern slopes of Aventine Hill, near the Temple of Luna (XIII 44),⁹⁴ along the first section of what would soon become *clivus Publicius* (XI 183),⁹⁵ which overlooked the *carceres* of Circus Maximus.⁹⁶ It can be hypothesized that it was a different temple of Ceres than the more ancient one (found in the circus, in front of the *carceres*; XI 383), but that it was connected to it. This would then be the most ancient case of duplication of cults along the axis of the circus, which occurred in other instances as well. Over time, additions to the slopes of Aventine Hill corresponded with those to the area around the circus. Inside the Temple of Ceres, the statue of the goddess—the most ancient bronze *simulacrum* in the city—was kept. It bore the inscription *ex Cassia familia datum*.⁹⁷ The temple was the seat of the plebeian aediles and the plebeian archive, where copies of senatorial decrees (*senatus consulta*) were kept.⁹⁸ The plebes had the right to asylum in the temple (*asylum Cereris*; XI 181), whose gates therefore had to be kept open. In addition, free bread was distributed to the needy there.⁹⁹

It was said that in 439 BC the *ara Minucii*, which was outside *porta Trigemina*, was decorated with a gilded bronze statue of an ox (*bos auratus*; XI 342)¹⁰⁰ and an honorary column known as the *columna Minucia* (XI 184).¹⁰¹ These monuments were dedicated by the Roman people to Lucius Minucius [Esquilinus] Augurinus, the prefect of provisions (*praefectus annonae*) in thanks for the distribution of cereal (*frumentatio*) following a famine.¹⁰² According to Ovid, the name of the emporium itself, known as the Forum Boarium, was derived from the statue of the ox.¹⁰³

From the Republican period on, the *pulvinar* must have existed in Circus Maximus. Originally, it was simply a wooden platform that may have been covered with cloth (*vela*).¹⁰⁴ This is where the statues of the gods stood, having been transported there on stretchers during the circus parade. In this way, they could take part in the religious ceremonies at the climax of the horse races.

It is possible that the cult of Pollentia (XI 385) had already appeared in the arena by this period. The characteristics of this goddess cannot be defined with certainty,¹⁰⁵ but

her name suggests the idea of power (based on *pollere*, “to have strength”) and may have referred to Rome’s power to expand. *Pollentia* also took on the role of the protector of the horse races.¹⁰⁶ In later periods, she would be portrayed as a winged Victory, with her statue placed atop a column.¹⁰⁷

The Regiary Catalogues report the existence of an *aedes Ditis Patris* (XI 421) in the fourth century, which is not otherwise known.¹⁰⁸ Based on the analogous cult of Tarantum (*Regio IX*), it can be hypothesized that a temple was dedicated to her at the beginning of the Republican period. The cult was closely connected to the Altar of Consus, and the temple was probably found on Aventine Hill facing onto that altar.

In 495 BC, the centurion Marcus Laetorius (or Plaetorius) was chosen by the people to dedicate a temple to Mercury (XI 201), the god of commerce.¹⁰⁹ The same personage was later put in charge of the Annona, or city grain supply, and went on to establish the merchants’ association (*collegium mercatorum*).¹¹⁰ The agrarian and mercantile character of this cult also shows in the day of its dedication (March 15),¹¹¹ which became the *dies mercatorum*,¹¹² but which was also sacred to Maia, Mercury’s mother and the goddess of fertility. We have no archeological remains of the temple, but it most likely had a circular shape¹¹³ and was located near the southeastern side of Circus Maximus, where the known finish lines of the *metas Murcia*¹¹⁴ were located, outside the *pomerium*.¹¹⁵ Several important roads also came to an end in this area: *via Appia* (which was known by that name as of 312 BC), *vicus portae Raudusculanae* (both of these came from outside the region),¹¹⁶ and the street that ran alongside Circus Maximus (which would later be called *ad Veneris circa foros publicos*; XI 336). So it is entirely possible that the temple dedicated by Laetorius, which was just outside of Circus Maximus, maintained a special link with the altar of Mercury that was along the structure’s axis inside the circus.

2.4. Mid-Republic (396–240 BC)

After the sack of the Gauls in 390 BC, the segment of the city walls that ran between Capitoline Hill and Aventine Hill—running parallel to the Tiber just a short distance away—were rebuilt (table 171A). In this sector, some segments of wall in *opus quadratum* have been documented. These segments used tuff that was probably from Grotta Oscura. They were identified near the fountain in piazza Bocca della Verità (XI 155,¹¹⁷ 124), near the southwestern corner of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (XI 106),¹¹⁸ and on the slopes of Aventine Hill (XI 71).¹¹⁹ Other blocks found to the east of the Temple of Portunus between the temple and the late Republican portico may also belong to the city walls. If so, it would indicate that the walls’ route was different (XI 409).¹²⁰ The move of the walls toward the Tiber would have then required the ancient *porta Flumentana* to be moved to the area in front of the Temple of Portunus (XI 245).

We may also be able to attribute a “rectangular building in tuff *opus quadratum*” to this period. There is no further

description of the building, which was found in 1892 near the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, a few meters away from the remains of the city walls.¹²¹ While the path of the walls in this section is difficult to reconstruct, it can be hypothesized that this building was the bulwark of *porta Trigemina*, which stood in front of the Sublicius Bridge (*pons Sublicius*; XIV 2500) at the foot of Aventine Hill.¹²² This same structure appears to have been closely connected with a network of sewers that surrounded it on three sides of its rectangular shape (XI 101, 102, 103).¹²³ From this point, the walls continued around the part of the Aventine slopes where the segment in *opus quadratum* using tuff from Grotta Oscura stood. A postern was placed in that segment (XI 71).

The middle of the Republican period has been identified as the date for the most ancient remains discovered of the Temple of Portunus. This temple was built along the banks of the Tiber, just outside the walls and *porta Flumentana* (XI 2-1; table 171A-B, table 172).¹²⁴ The remains consist of an impressive podium in *opus quadratum* (using tuff from Grotta Oscura) that faced *portus Tiberinus*. Its exceptional height (approximately 6 meters), which may have required stairs leading down to the port, must have kept the temple safe when the river flooded. It may have been accessible by boat during such floods. At the same time that the temple was being built, or perhaps shortly after, a viaduct with arches was also built on the side of the temple facing toward the port. The road atop it allowed access to the temple when the stairs were underwater (XI 2-2).¹²⁵

From 312 BC on, this sector of the city was supplied by the *aqua Appia* (XI 178). This first of Rome's aqueducts was built by censors Appius Claudius Caecus and Gaius Plautius (also known as Plautius Venox).¹²⁶ There are no archeological remains of the aqueduct in the *Regio*. It ran from *porta Capena* (see *Regiones I–XII*) along the northern slopes of Aventine Hill before reaching its terminus near *porta Trigemina*, in the area of the *Salinae*, at the foot of what would become *clivus Publicius*.¹²⁷

Between the fourth and the third centuries BC, probably at the same time that Appius Claudius made the cult of Hercules part of state religion (312 BC),¹²⁸ a temple was built in honor of the god, which can be identified as the Temple of Hercules *Invictus ad Circum Maximum* (XI 192).¹²⁹ At that same time, the religious functions that had been reserved to the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii* families were taken away.¹³⁰ The temple was dedicated on August 12, on the same day as the Hercules of the *ara Maxima*.¹³¹ Inside, there was a statue of the god by the Greek sculptor Myron (early fifth century BC).¹³² The building (of which no archeological traces remain) must have been near the altar, probably between it and Circus Maximus. We know the temple kept its archaic or archaizing Tuscan shape for a very long time, along with its areostyle floorplan (similar to the temple of Ceres) and terracotta statues.¹³³ This temple was later indicated by the name *Hercules Pompeianus* after Pompey restored it.¹³⁴ A votive deposit found in the same area that can be dated to the mid-Republican

period (XI 380) was also part of this sanctuary. It contained vases, cups, and glasses dedicated to the god.¹³⁵

In that same period, in 296 BC, golden patera bowls were dedicated in the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera.¹³⁶

That same year provides the first evidence of the existence of a *sacellum* dedicated to *Pudicitia* (XI 410),¹³⁷ which must have previously been in the Forum Boarium, near to where a temple of Hercules (*aedes Aemiliana Herculis*) had been erected a century before.¹³⁸ The cult statue was the personification of the patrician ladies' *pudor* (a sense of modesty or shame). Livy says that one of these, Verginia, was not permitted into the temple by the other matrons, who considered her impure due to the fact she had taken Plebeian Consul Lucius Volumnius as her second husband. In response, Verginia founded a cult dedicated to the plebeian *Pudicitia* behind her home on Quirinal Hill (VI 1079). We can imagine the location of the patrician cult to have been a simple altar, as it is represented on a coin much later (second century AD).¹³⁹

The most ancient building intervention known in the area within the walls was on the *carceres* of Circus Maximus (XI 1), which were the twelve starting gates for the two-horse and four-horse chariots on the shorter side of the monument. According to Livy, they were constructed in a permanent form in 329 BC with wooden boards (*tabulata*).¹⁴⁰ They were probably painted, as well (*pictae fauces*).¹⁴¹ The structures were similar to doors and opened simultaneously upon a signal from the appropriate officiating magistrate. He would watch the competitions along with the first magistrate (*dictator*) and the other magistrates in office from the two crenellated towers on either side of the *carceres*, which gave the structure the appearance of a fortified city (*oppidum*).¹⁴² In front of the abutments between the stalls, ithyphallic herms of Hermes watched over the horse races.¹⁴³ The number of gates was a reference to the Twelve Gods¹⁴⁴ and the signs of the zodiac. The gates were divided into the four teams of the competition, each of which was linked to a color, a season, and an element of the cosmos.¹⁴⁵ The birth of the toponym *Duodecim portae* may have had its origins in this period. The name is still used in the *Regionary Catalogues* from the late imperial period.

The Temple of *Summanus* (XI 208) was dedicated¹⁴⁶ during the Pyrrhic War.¹⁴⁷ The cult of *Summanus* had been established by Titus Tatius and must have been on the slopes of Aventine Hill, near the future Temple of Juventas.¹⁴⁸ Construction of the temple was probably vowed in the years between 278 and 275 BC,¹⁴⁹ in response to an omen: a lightning bolt had struck the statue on the pediment of the Temple of Capitoline Jupiter (VIII 64), and the statue's head had fallen into the Tiber.

Also on the northeastern slopes of Aventine Hill, most likely looking out onto the Temple of Murcia in the circus, stood the first temple in the city dedicated to Venus. It was the work of Curule Aedile Quintus Fabius Gurges and was known by the epithet *Obsequens*, meaning "obedient" or "complies with one's wishes" (XI 209).¹⁵⁰ According to Livy, the temple

was constructed in 295 BC with funds taken from the fines charged to certain Roman ladies for adultery.¹⁵¹ However, according to Servius, the temple was vowed in 292 BC, during the third Samnite War, and was dedicated the following year using money from the spoils of that war (*ex manubiis*).¹⁵² The day of the dedication fell on August 19, the same day as that of the cult of Venus Libitina on Esquiline Hill, where the *vinalia rustica* were held to ensure the grape harvest.¹⁵³

2.5. Late Republic (240–27 BC) (table 171)

During the late Republican period, the area of the *Velabrum* at the foot of Palatine Hill welcomed numerous commercial activities, especially those related to foodstuffs, but others as well. Plautus writes that this was one of the roughest areas in the city, due to its proximity to the *portus Tiberinus*. In the area between the *Velabrum* and the nearby *vicus Tuscus* (VIII 139), in addition to the shops of oil merchants, bakers, and butchers, there were also fortune tellers, male prostitutes, and pimps.¹⁵⁴ Slightly later, Horace would write of the quarter's *turba inpia*, which was filled with fishmongers, fruit sellers, and perfume peddlers.¹⁵⁵ The structural remains found in the area may belong to the shops of these merchants. They include a double row of underground rooms that face onto a corridor with walls in *opus reticulatum* and vaulted ceilings; they were probably used as stockrooms (XI 23).¹⁵⁶

In the years between 241 and 238, the activities of two plebeian aediles were concentrated in the area of *porta Trigemina*. The two aediles were the brothers Marcus and Lucius Publicius Malleolus, who are recognized above all for the construction of the street that bears their name, *clivus Publicius* (XI 19), which is identified with the modern *via dei Publicii*.¹⁵⁷ This road was a repositioning of the ancient path that led up to the summit of Aventine Hill (where the Church of Sant'Alessio is found today, *Regio XIII*).

After having consulted the Sibylline Books following a famine,¹⁵⁸ the brother aediles founded the Temple of Flora on 28 April 238 BC (XI 189).¹⁵⁹ This goddess favored the blooming of vegetation, and her temple stood along the *clivus*, near the *carceres* of Circus Maximus and the Temple of Ceres, with which she shared an agrarian and plebeian character. The original building (which was probably in the Greek shape¹⁶⁰) was destroyed by the fire of 31 BC, along with the Temple of Ceres.¹⁶¹ The festival known as *Floralia* was established together with the temple. It ran from the date of the dedication until May 3 and served to ensure the fertility of the soil.¹⁶²

In the years following the activities of these two aediles, a series of disasters struck this part of the *Regio*. In 213 BC, a terrible fire broke out in the *Salinae* and devastated the entire area within the walls from the Forum Boarium to *porta Carmentalis* at the foot of Capitoline Hill.¹⁶³ In 193 BC, a flood overtook the area of *porta Flumentana*, causing some buildings to collapse.¹⁶⁴ The following year, the flooding was even more violent and was followed by a fire that blazed through the Forum Boarium and all the way to the river.¹⁶⁵ Once these calamities had passed, there was

a storm in 182 BC so virulent that it blew the door off the Temple of Luna on the slopes of Aventine Hill (XIII 44). The door flew into the walls of the Temple of Ceres.¹⁶⁶

Perhaps due to these floods, a large embankment wall was built along the Tiber. It ran from the Temple of Portunus to the slopes of Aventine Hill and was made using *opus quadratum* of lithic tuff from the Aniene (XI 49).¹⁶⁷ The construction of the embankment appears to have been part of a large building program begun in 179 BC with the placing of the pylons for *pons Aemilius* in front of the Temple of Portunus (today known as *ponte Rotto*, XIV 46) and the restoration of the *portus Tiberinus* (Regio IX).¹⁶⁸ The embankment wall was at least 6 meters higher than the river and contained a large soil fill. Once it had been built, the line of the river bank was substantially advanced, up to around 60 meters. Consequentially, the large sewers were elongated with sides in tuff and covered in peperino vaults so that they would let out on the embankment wall (XI 31, 114). The Cloaca Maxima (XI 31) can still be seen below an arch in the modern embankment wall (fig. 153). With the soil fill, the ground level of the area facing onto the river was raised more than 3 meters.¹⁶⁹

The open area right inside the walls was also raised, but remained at a lower level. It was paved in tuff slabs, whose fragments can still be seen in piazza Bocca della Verità (XI 112).¹⁷⁰ For the purposes of drainage, a special system of drains was built that dumped the water into the Tiber just before the *cloaca Circa* (XI 115).

The creation of the embankment wall and soil fill led to most of the Temple of Portunus being underground, with only 70 cm remaining above the ground level. The viaduct on arches was completely buried, but the street above it must have remained in use. Parallel to this road, on the plain to the east of the temple, a portico with square columns was built that ended in a wall that separated the sacred area from the rest of the Forum. A similar portico could be envisioned on the side toward the river.¹⁷¹

The older temple continued to be used until a new sacred building was constructed in the years between 80 and 70 BC. This is the structure that has been preserved until today (table 171B, fig. 152). It is a pseudoperipteral tetrastyle Ionic temple built in *opus quadratum* using tuff from the Aniene and slabs of travertine over a concrete foundation. The area in front of the temple was repaved in travertine, as well. Contemporarily, the lateral portico was also restructured with the creation of walls between the square columns, transforming it into a row of ten *tabernae*. The area was floored in basalt paving stones and opened onto the road that led to the *pons Aemilius* (XI 381). However, it was also connected to the southern part of the Forum Boarium via an access point in the rear wall between the *tabernae* and the temple.

The road before the *tabernae* continued beyond the *porta Flumentana*. According to Cicero,¹⁷² its name was changed to *vicus Lucei* (XI 381).¹⁷³ This street marked the edge of the soil fill, and on its other side, at a lower level, was the port.¹⁷⁴ The *vicus* got its name from a Luceius of the Republican period,

who may have overseen its creation. The *gens Luceia* was known for having significant commercial interests, especially in Campania, and in the imperial period they were owners of the nearby *cella Luceiana* (XI 418).¹⁷⁵ Other properties belonging to this family must have been located in the zone on the other side of the *vicus*. Remains of structures, possibly *tabernae*, can be dated to this period and have been identified in the area (XI 18, 23).¹⁷⁶ Cicero reports that these buildings had become the property of Caelius Rufus, a young aristocrat who was his friend and student. Rufus lived in the Palatine apartment of Tribune Publius Clodius Pulcher (X 172) and was the same figure Cicero had defended a few years earlier (56 BC) after he was accused of violent political subversion, a serious crime. Cicero demonstrated that the accusation was unjust and was a vendetta by Caelius's scorned ex-lover, Claudia. She was also Clodius's sister, and the *Lesbia* once loved by Catullus. Cicero did not hesitate to describe her as a rich, lusty, immoral matron consumed by the art of seduction.¹⁷⁷

In 179 BC, a colonnaded portico (*porticus*) in the Hellenistic style may have been built in the area between the Forum Boarium and Circus Flaminius by Censor Marcus Fulvius Nobilior (XI 411). No archeological traces of this *porticus* remain, but it must have connected the port's *Navalia* (IX 1581) to the sanctuary (*fanum*) of Hercules.¹⁷⁸

On the soil fill behind the Temple of Portunus, a round temple was built in the last decades of the second century BC. It can still be seen in piazza Bocca della Verità. It is known as the Temple of Vesta (XI 97; table 174a; fig. 156),¹⁷⁹ but in reality it was dedicated to Hercules Victor. It was located near the ancient *porta Trigemina*, and its celebration fell on August 13 of the Roman calendar.¹⁸⁰ The circular building stands on a low podium with steps made in blocks of Grotta Oscura tuff, with twenty fluted Corinthian-style columns in Greek marble (partially redone in marble from Luni). The cell was made in large slabs of marble, and its original entrance has been preserved. The cult statue kept inside the cell was by Scopas *Minor*,¹⁸¹ as shown by the inscription found near the temple, in which Hercules is called Olivarius (as the temple is also called in the Regionary Catalogues).¹⁸² The *simulacrum* has since been lost, but is represented on a relief on the Arch of Titus in Benevento that shows the arrival of the emperor at the *portus Tiberinus*. In it, the god is standing with a crown of poplar leaves on his head.¹⁸³

The temple was supposedly built on public land by Marcus Octavius Erennus, a rich merchant who believed the god had saved him from pirates during a business trip.¹⁸⁴ He was most likely a merchant of Tibertine origins¹⁸⁵ who introduced the new cult of Hercules in which the god was the protector (among other things) of the oil merchants (*olearii*). Hence the epithet *Olivarius*. This figure might be identified as Marcus Octavius, who was the plebeian tribune in 133 BC and who owned much land in the *ager publicus*. Alternatively, he may have been the Marcus Octavius (coincidentally of the same name) who pushed the *lex Octavia* through. This was a law regarding the commerce

of grain that abolished the law of Gaius Gracchus.¹⁸⁶ A temple dedicated to Hercules that stood on land outside the *pomerium*, near *portus Tiberinus* and the public grain warehouses (*Aemiliana*),¹⁸⁷ would fit this identification well.

When he was censor in 142 BC, in addition to having completed the construction of the *pons Aemilius*'s arches (XIV 46),¹⁸⁸ Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus dedicated the first round temple to Hercules (XI 118; table 174b). It was a completely new idea, not only for Rome but for the entirety of ancient Italy.¹⁸⁹ This new temple was probably built *ex manubiis*, meaning it was funded with the spoils taken when Carthage was destroyed (146 BC). The building is known in the literature as *aedes Aemiliana Herculis*¹⁹⁰ and has been recognized as a round temple that still existed in the fifteenth century when it stood to the left of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin.¹⁹¹ Its appearance is only documented in a few sketches from the Renaissance showing it surrounded by eighteen Tuscan columns and covered with a cupola.¹⁹² Alternating rectangular and semicircular niches in the frames were delineated by semicolumns. Perhaps the famous gilded bronze statue of Hercules as a young man with the apples of the Hesperides (which was found nearby) was housed in one of these niches.¹⁹³ The temple was decorated with precious paintings by Pacuvius (220–130 BC), who was a playwright and a poet in the Scipionic Circle as well as a painter.¹⁹⁴ He may have depicted scenes from the third Punic War, in which Scipio was distinguished for his bravery.¹⁹⁵

A short distance from there, Scipio himself had a shrine containing an *Apollo Caelispex* (Apollo looking up into heaven; XI 177) erected.¹⁹⁶ It was a cult statue that had been taken from the temple in the forum of Carthage and brought to Rome before the Punic city was destroyed. The statue may have been visible from the Tiber,¹⁹⁷ where it was placed along the triumphal procession as war booty exposed to the victorious general's salute. This location was likely on the road that led to the *carceres* of Circus Maximus (*via ad duodecim portas*).¹⁹⁸ The god was standing on just one leg and dressed only with a piece of cloth. His head was tilted back with one hand on it and his eyes gazed skyward. This latter characteristic was probably linked to his particular astral aspect, which may have been similar to that of the Punic god Tanit-Caelesti.¹⁹⁹

It was the victor of Carthage who saw to the reconstruction of the nearby *ara Maxima*. The remains of a large monument preserved under the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (XI 110; table 173) can be dated to the second century BC. These remains include a colossal podium in *opus quadratum* using tuff from the Aniene covered in travertine and surrounded by a travertine pavement.²⁰⁰ At the center of this base must have been the altar. It was probably circular, as can be deduced from the depiction on a medallion from the period of Antoninus Pius.²⁰¹ The dimensions of the base (120 x 80 feet, or 35.50 x 23.70 meters)²⁰² make it comparable to grand Hellenistic altars, such as that from Pergamon (34 x 34 meters). Its architectural form, while a simplified version, may have resembled the *ara Maxima*.

It can be imagined that the large podium, which was approximately 4.40 meters tall,²⁰³ may have been accessed by means of stairs on the southeastern side, the side with the Temple of Hercules *Invictus ad circus Maximus*. Behind the altar, and perhaps in an enclosed area, there may have been an entrance with a stairway leading down into the *consaeptum sacellum* (XI 109). That is most likely where the cult statue was kept. It is possible that the *simulacrum* was similar to that in the Hercules *Salarius of Alba Fucens* (table 173b C) in which the hero is seated and about to take part in a ritual banquet with the *scyphus* (a container for salt) and the club. As in *Alba Fucens*, the statue was preserved below a *tetrastylum*, which was a kind of canopy held up by four columns.²⁰⁴ Two doorways were placed in the rear wall of the *consaeptum sacellum*, which allowed visitors to leave the building and directly access the road outside (XI 75).²⁰⁵ This street was at a lower level and connected to the *ara Maxima* by means of an inclined paved path, which was found in part below the church. This structure was of immense size and probably built with Hellenistic forms, directly opposite the Temple of Hercules, which still preserved its archaic appearance. These features must have created a significant visual impact that would have deeply changed the look of the sanctuary.

According to a recent hypothesis, it was only in this phase that the *columna Minucia* (XI 184) was put up outside the *porta Trigemina*. The column was dedicated to Lucius Minucius [Esquilinus] Augurinus to commemorate the *gens* by some of his descendants who bore the same name.²⁰⁶

In 208 and 197 BC, at the nearby Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, bronze statues of the three gods were dedicated. At the same time, following the conquest of Corinth (146 BC), General Lucius Mummius dedicated a painting of Dionysus and Ariadne by the Greek artist Aristides (early fourth century BC). This was the first foreign painting exhibited in Rome, part of the spoils of war that included innumerable artworks from the sacked city. Aristides's painting had been purchased at auction by Attalus II, king of Pergamon, for 600,000 denarii. However, the Roman general must not have had much artistic sensibility; he suspected that the painting had hidden powers to bring such a high price. That is why he took it from Attalus (before he could take it to Pergamon) and exhibited it in Rome.²⁰⁷ It was lost in the fire of 31 BC that also destroyed the Temple of Ceres.²⁰⁸ Only the ancient decorations painted by Damophilus and Gorgasus were saved. They were probably frescoes that had been detached from the walls and put into frames.²⁰⁹

The *aedificia C. Numitori* must have also stood near *Circus Maximus (pone foros)*. This was probably quite an extensive structure, whose functions we do not know. It was named in an inscription from the period of Sulla in reference to a lease contract.²¹⁰ Gaius Numitorius, from whom it got its name, was the builder and original owner. He may have been the figure who was killed during the Civil War of 87 BC by Marius's followers, whose body was then dragged through the city with a hook along with the corpse of another senator.²¹¹

Beginning at the end of the third century BC, *Circus Maximus* was involved in interventions that were concluded two centuries later by Julius Caesar. Until then, the circus had functioned with semipermanent wooden structures. In 217 BC, Manius Valerius Maximus and his descendants were granted a place in the *sella curulis*—seats reserved for the most important political offices—in the *pulvinar*.²¹² In 204 BC, Censors Marcus Livius Salinator and Gaius Claudius had the road built that went around the circus and connected the Forum Boarium to the Temple of Venus Obsequens (*via e foro Boario ad [aedem] Veneris*).²¹³ The road corresponded almost exactly to the current path of *via dei Cerchi* (XI 42) and *via del Circus Maximus* (XI 336).

In 196 BC, Lucius Stertinius returned from his victorious campaigns in Hispania Ulterior (southwestern Spain) and put up an arch (*fornix*; XI 180) with the spoils of war in place of the triumph he was not given.²¹⁴ The monument was topped with golden statues (*signa aurata*) and located on the eastern edge of the circus (table 171B) along the path of the triumphal procession, which crossed the circus building.²¹⁵

There was also a Temple of Juventas (XI 199) in the area of the circus (*in circo Maximo*), probably at the foot of Aventine Hill. It was inaugurated in 191 BC by Gaius Licinius Lucullus, the magistrate in charge of the temple (*duovir aedis dedicandae*).²¹⁶ The temple had been dedicated sixteen years earlier (207 BC), during the Battle of Metaurus, on the same day of Marcus Livius Salinator's victory over Hasdrubal. As censor (204 BC), Marcus Livius had begun work on the project. Games honoring the goddess (*Iudi Juventatis*) were established as part of the inauguration, which also included theater pieces.²¹⁷

During the games in 187 BC, a pole hit the statue of Pollentia and knocked it to the ground.²¹⁸ This omen led the senators to add additional Roman and plebeian games, as well as the erection of not one, but two statues of Pollentia (*signa duo pro uno*), with the second being made of gold (XI 385, 404). The statues were similar to winged victories holding crowns aloft in one hand; they must have been located near the finish line.²¹⁹

The great storm of 182 BC blew down the statues on the columns identified as Seia, Messa, and Tutulina (XI 387, 389, 391, 396, 398, 400), which were immediately re-consecrated.²²⁰ In 178 BC, most of the circus, including the Temple of Venus, was damaged by a fire that broke out nearby (*circa foros*).²²¹ The fire was an opportunity for some restoration projects, which were carried out in 174 BC when Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus were censors. They restored the *carceres* and either placed or restored the devices that were used for the races and other shows. These included the egg-shaped lap-counter mechanism (*ova*; XI 403),²²² the finish lines (XI 405, 406), the iron cages (*cavae ferrae*) for the wild and exotic animals used in the hunting shows (*venationes*), and the towers where the hunters were positioned (*phalae*).²²³

After the fire of 178 BC, the Sibylline Books were consulted, and the wife of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus,²²⁴ who was said to be the most chaste and pure of the matrons, dedicated a statue (*simulacrum*) of Venus in 176 BC. It was a *Venus Verticordia*, meaning “who turns hearts” (toward modesty), and was erected in the archaic outdoor Sanctuary of Murcia that was located within the area of Circus Maximus.²²⁵ The temple itself (*aedes*) was only built in 114 BC to expiate the peculiar death of a virgin who was struck by a lightning bolt after three vestal virgins broke their vows of chastity (*crimen incesti*).²²⁶ The goddess’s statue was kept in the temple, which has been portrayed as a distyle or tetrastyle structure, flanked by myrtle trees.²²⁷ During the festival on April 1 (*Veneralia*), the statue was taken from the temple and paraded by the *matronae* to the nearby *piscine Publica* (XII 185). There, the *simulacrum* was stripped of her ornaments and submerged in the water. The matrons then offered incense and drank a love potion made with milk, honey, and ground poppies, which was said to have been drunk by Venus before she became Mars’s bride (*nupta*).²²⁸

At the end of the Republican period, Circus Maximus took on the form of a completely stable and grand building for the first time (XI 1-1). As the first circus, it became the model for the numerous other circus structures made throughout the Empire in the following centuries.²²⁹ It was built by Caesar in 46 BC for his quadruple triumph.²³⁰ Only a few structures are known from the great Caesarean circus. They consist of structures in *opus reticulatum* found on the eastern side under the Trajan-period walls. These later walls followed the same plan and used Caesar’s walls as foundations.²³¹ They were made up of interconnected spaces with a series of other rooms external to them that were divided by radial walls (made up of arches). According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the building was originally 3.5 stadia (around 621 meters).²³² Its width, probably referring to the width of the track alone, was 4 plethra (approximately 118 meters).²³³ Except for the side with the *carceres*, the entire track was surrounded by a canal, called the *euripus*, which was 10 feet (around 3 meters) wide and deep. It collected water and also protected the spectators from the wild beasts.²³⁴

Dionysius reports that there were also three floor porticos (*stoai*), in which spectators were seated. These were stone on the lower floors (the first and perhaps the second orders, too) and wooden on the top floor (the third order). The porticos on the longer sides were connected to one another by a third, semicircular portico on the eastern side that gave the structure the appearance of an amphitheater.²³⁵ The *carceres* were located on the western side and made up of arched gates. These gates may not yet have been roofed. They were rigged to open simultaneously with a rope. Unlike the later circus, there was a single-story portico along the external perimeter that housed shops with rooms inside. Each of these shops contained entrances and exits to the spectacles, which were kept separate to avoid crowding. If it is presumed that the Caesarean circus was no larger than it

was during the later period of Trajan, then it can be hypothesized that this fourth portico sat on the strip of land where the large external walkway would later be.²³⁶ According to this reconstruction, *via circa foros* would have also been in that same place in the period of Trajan.

Dionysius does not mention the axis, which probably took on its monumental form (XI 163) in this period. It was a long structure raised above the long axis and may have had pools of water in it.²³⁷ At the two ends of this axis were the *metae*, which were made up of three cone-shaped marks. Atop the axis structure there were columns, statues, the egg-shaped lap counters, and small religious buildings. There were so many ancient buildings incorporated into the structure that they cannot even be listed. They included the Temple of the Sun on the Aventine side, the Shrine of Murcia along the southeastern side of the *euripus*, and the Arch of Stertinius in the center of the curved side.

In 33 BC, in order to remedy the spectators’ difficulties following the races, Agrippa had a second lap-counting mechanism with seven dolphins installed (XI 384). With each lap run, water would spurt from the dolphins’ mouths and pour down into the pool below. Agrippa also restored the older egg-shaped lap counters (XI 403).²³⁸

We can imagine that the cults of Ceres and Consus, located at the far ends of the axis, took on (or had taken on) the architectural forms in this period that we know from the iconographic sources of the imperial period. Near the first finish line (the one in the east), next to the egg-shaped lap counters, a circular building (*monòpteros*; XI 421) and a square structure (XI 402) are portrayed. These have been interpreted as the underground Altar of Consus.²³⁹

The *monòpteros* at the end of the axis had two levels, supported by Corinthian columns and covered by a cone-shaped roof. It could be closed by means of gates between the columns (*plutei*). It is likely that there was an underground room below this shrine that housed the altar itself, which was connected to the surface through an opening (*puteus*) in the pavement. Portrayals show a statue inside a nude male god with a trident, who can be identified as Poseidon/Neptune and therefore identified with Consus, as well. Another access to the altar might be recognized in the four-sided enclosure with a door on the side facing Palatine Hill. Unlike the axis itself, that structure was oriented to the four cardinal points of the compass. This may have been the sacred enclosure leading to the *mundus*, into which only priests could enter. It has been proposed that there was an underground area similar to the *mundus* at the Forum of Cerveteri. This underground room of Caius Genucius Clepsina (273 BC) could be accessed through a wide corridor. The dirt that covered and closed off the altar for the rest of the year²⁴⁰ was probably removed from this corridor during the *Consualia* (July 7,²⁴¹ August 21,²⁴² and December 15).²⁴³ Later sources indicate that near the altar, in a position we cannot pinpoint with precision, there was an inscription that mentioned Consus and the other gods associated with the cult: Mars and the Lares.²⁴⁴

Near the second finish line (in the west), there was a circular shrine covered with a cupola that probably stood in a place sacred to Ceres (XI 383). It can be imagined that (like the cult of Consus)²⁴⁵ there was an underground room below the shrine, which had originally been a granary for the goddess and later became the symbolic site where the early harvest was offered. According to a recent hypothesis,²⁴⁶ this could be recognized as the *mundus Cereris* (as mentioned in the literature) that was opened three times a year (August 24, October 5, and November 8).²⁴⁷ The cupola of the *monòpteros* may have referred to the dome of the heavens, based on which the place took the name *world* (*mundus*).²⁴⁸ In some cases, a serpent is shown on the cupola. The serpent was a symbol of fertility and rebirth who guarded the thresholds into the underground world. There was often a statue of Dionysus as a young man (*Liber*) shown next to the shrine as well.

In 31 BC, the same fire that destroyed the Temple of Ceres damaged a large part of the circus that had been built just fifteen years earlier.²⁴⁹

2.6. The age of Augustus (27 BC–AD 14)

With the Augustan reform of the fourteen urban *Regiones*,²⁵⁰ the area of the Forum Boarium that lay between the *pons Aemilius* and *pons Sublicius* and the valley between Palatine Hill and Aventinus became part of *Regio XI*. This *Regio* got its name from the largest building within its territory: Circus Maximus. The restorations of the ancient city gates testify to this new administrative division. They were monumentalized as arches in memory of the path of the older city walls and were probably used as points of reference for the new organization of the city.²⁵¹ The segment of the walls that ran along the Tiber, long since buried,²⁵² was symbolically reintroduced by Augustus with the rebuilding of the *Flumentana* and *Trigemina* Gates.²⁵³ Augustus reconstructed the former in its original location on the road that led to *pons Aemilius*, as per a senate decree (XI 245).²⁵⁴ Between 3 BC and 2 BC, two travertine bases (most likely with statues on top of them) were put up near (probably on either side of) the arch. They were dedicated to Gaius and Lucius Caesar, the emperor's grandchildren.²⁵⁵ A few years later, *porta Trigemina* was also rebuilt. The marble arch in front of the Sublicius Bridge, which lasted until the fifteenth century, can be attributed to this Augustan reconstruction,²⁵⁶ which was performed by Publius Lentulus Scipio and Titus Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus (consuls in AD 3).²⁵⁷

In this period, the system of roads in the area around the gate was also modified. The postern in the walls that surrounded Aventine Hill was walled up in *opus reticulatum* (XI 71-2). Only the road farther downhill that ran alongside the Tiber from the *ara Maxima* to Testaccio (XI 15) was used.

Probably between 12 and 7 BC, a small travertine altar (0.475 x 0.635 x 0.94 meters) dedicated to *Concordia Augusta* (XI 93) was placed in the open area, near the intersection between the road that crossed the Forum Boarium and the road that led to the northern side of the circus in the plaza.

Concordia Augusta was a goddess personifying the political agreement among the citizens of Rome.²⁵⁸ A (1.58 x 1.62 meter) base east of the altar held the statue of the goddess.²⁵⁹ Today, the Altar of Concordia has been placed on the corner of piazza Bocca della Verità and via del Teatro di Marcello, in the flower garden in front of the Pierleoni House. Originally, it may have been located near one of the city's *compita*, cross-road cults where the rites of protection for the districts (*vici*) were performed. The goddess's *simulacrum* was among the extremely precious statues (*pretiosissima simulacra*) that Augustus dedicated *vicatim*, meaning in the *compita* of the *vici*.²⁶⁰

The *statio Annonae* (XI 207) was also created in the *Regio* in this period.²⁶¹ This was the site of the *praefectus annonae*, who was a prefect of the equestrian rank in charge of the city's food provisions. This office was established by Augustus around 7 BC.²⁶² Its offices, which may have inherited the functions of the ancient *asylum Cereris*,²⁶³ must have been at the foot of Aventine Hill²⁶⁴ near the Temple of Flora.²⁶⁵ This would have connected it with the Temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera, which had distributed grain since the High Republican period.

After the fire of 31 BC destroyed the two temples of Flora and Ceres as well as a large part of Circus Maximus, they were rebuilt by Augustus. These restorations may have been part of the general restructuring project for the area, which also included the creation of the *statio Annonae*.

As on the side toward Palatine Hill, the road running alongside the circus on the side toward Aventine Hill also had shops on either side of it. Remains of these shops, probably dating from later periods, are also shown on Lanciani's *Forma Urbis* near the Temple of Flora. We know that these were later the shops of clothing merchants (*vestiarii*)²⁶⁶ and barbers (*tonsores*).²⁶⁷ It is possible that this type of business was conducted in this area during this period.

Other shops and commercial structures continued to be built in the Forum Boarium, as well. Remains of these types of buildings have been found on the northern side of the plaza, between the plaza's center and the *Velabro* (XI 125, 126).²⁶⁸

Augustus, with the collaboration of Agrippa, also restored the parts of Circus Maximus that were damaged in the fire.²⁶⁹ He had a stable and monumental *pulvinar* built on the steps on the side toward Palatine Hill, as well.²⁷⁰ From the outside, this structure was similar to a temple,²⁷¹ but at first it was used by the emperor himself, who would occasionally observe the races from there in the company of his family, probably from the area in front of that reserved for the gods.²⁷²

In 10 BC, Augustus had an obelisk—brought to Rome from Egypt—erected halfway down the circus's axis structure (XI 147).²⁷³ It was the thirteenth-century BC obelisk of Rameses II that now stands in piazza del Popolo (fig. 159),²⁷⁴ taken from *Heliopolis* (Assuan) for the twenty-year celebration of Egypt's conquest (Battle of Actium, 31 BC).²⁷⁵ The obelisk is nearly 24 meters tall and was originally

dedicated to Ra, the Egyptian god of the Sun, who is portrayed on the lower part of the monolith. The entire circus was primarily consecrated to this god²⁷⁶ and was rededicated to him by Augustus, as commemorated on the inscription on the base.²⁷⁷ The solar character was also reinforced by the golden decorations (*auratum*) found on the top of the obelisk, which were shaped like flames (*in modum flammae formatum*).²⁷⁸ The point at which the obelisk was positioned, at the center of the axis,²⁷⁹ indicated one lap in the chariot races. It also functioned as a meridian, symbolizing the highest point of the Sun as it passed over the earth, reproducing the movement of the sun from sunrise to sunset between the two finish lines.²⁸⁰

It may have been with this introduction that the other cult of the Sun on the axis, the *ara Circi* (XI 399), took on the form we know from later iconographic sources.²⁸¹ These sources show a Hellenistic horned altar with a fire burning on top of it.²⁸²

The Augustan age came to a close with yet another flood at the circus. In AD 12, water inundated the track, causing significant damage—so much that the games in honor of Mars (*Iudi Martiales*) were held in the Forum of Augustus (VIII 1027).²⁸³

2.7. The early Empire (AD 14–180)

During the imperial period, the *Velabrum* continued to be a very lively quarter. Both Juvenal and Martial testify to this fact. They describe it as being an intricate system of smoky, mud-filled alleyways that were crowded and noisy, and the site of shady business and constant assaults.²⁸⁴ Inscriptions from the imperial period record other commercial activities in the *Velabrum* in addition to those mentioned in the previous periods, including a food and wine merchant (*negotiator penoris et vinorum*);²⁸⁵ another wine merchant (*vinarius*);²⁸⁶ money changers (*argentarii*);²⁸⁷ and merchants dealing in precious materials, including a pearl vendor (*margaritarius*);²⁸⁸ either a goldsmith or a money changer dealing in gold coins (*[a]urarius*); and perhaps an incense seller (*[th]urarius*).²⁸⁹ These merchants had joined into associations. We know specifically of the *collegium Velabrensiun*²⁹⁰ and the guild of *argentarii*. In the period of Severus, the latter group joined with the merchants of the Forum Boarium (*argentarii et negotiantes boari huius loci*) to dedicate an arch—known appropriately as the *Arcus Argentariorum*—at the entrance to the Forum Boarium, in the heart of the *Velabrum* (VIII 106).

On the slopes of Aventine Hill near the circus, Tiberius continued the project Augustus had begun of restoring the temples of Ceres and Flora. Tiberius rededicated them in AD 17.²⁹¹ At the site of *porta Trigemina*, the ancient *Salinae* may have already disappeared.²⁹²

In AD 47, when Claudius was censor, he charged the assigned magistrates (*curatores locorum publicorum*) with the task of reclaiming the public land that had been squatted upon in the area of the Forum Boarium, presumably by demolishing the offending buildings. This is testified to by a *cippus* found

in its original position along the road that crossed the Forum Boarium (XI 121).²⁹³ The inscription indicates the area cleared started at some columns (*columnnae*) and *pilae*, which could be interpreted as the pylons of the *pons Aemilius*.

Around the middle of the first century AD, a building was made in *opus latericium* on the road behind the *carceres* of Circus Maximus. It was made up of four parallel and interconnected rooms, divided by a central corridor (XI 20). The structure was paved in *opus spicatum* and covered in a wooden truss. It may have been used as a warehouse (*horreum*) for the merchandise of the nearby market or as a stall for animals (*stabula*). It cannot be ruled out that it might have had stalls reserved for the teams of horses racing in the circus, used for short stays before the competitions. The main stalls (*stabula factionum*) were located in the Campus Martius (*Regio IX*).²⁹⁴

At the end of the century, the building was restructured (XI 379). Some walls were cut through, others were built to reinforce the structure (and probably to support the new vaulted roof). A stairway to the upper level was built in front, which has not been preserved. This upper level must have been partially roofed and partially terraced. The terrace would have faced out onto the *carceres* of the circus, so the building may have had some functional link thereto. It has been recognized as the *secretarium Circi*, an office under the urban prefect dedicated to the organization and administration of the circus competitions, in particular to maintaining public order during the events.²⁹⁵

In AD 36, shortly after the Augustan restoration, a fire broke out in Circus Maximus in the shops of some basket sellers (*vitores*; XI 210). The blaze destroyed the part of the building on the Aventine side.²⁹⁶ That same year, the Tiber's floodwaters struck the city and were especially destructive in this area.²⁹⁷ The damaged sector of the circus was restored by Tiberius, who financed the operation with 100 million sesterii.²⁹⁸

Caligula loved to watch the races from the terrace of the *domus* on Palatine Hill, known as the *domus Gelotiana* (X 112).²⁹⁹ For theatrical shows (*pægma*), he had a stage or set brought into the circus that was decorated with 124,000 pounds of silver.³⁰⁰ Claudius rebuilt the *carceres* in marble and coated them in gilded bronze. For the first time, reserved seats for the senators were established in the stands.³⁰¹ Nero extended the same privilege to the knights (*equites*).³⁰²

In order to obtain the space needed for these seats, or to add new ones, the canal known as *euripus* was eliminated, and the stands were advanced toward the track.³⁰³ However, memory of the *euripus* was maintained. Its name was then transferred to the axis, in which pools of water recalled the old canal (fig. 158). Authors from the imperial period indicate the axis with the term *euripus*, using it as a synonym of the entire structure.³⁰⁴ As Caligula had already done, Nero had the track covered with *chrysocola*, a copper silicate that made the arena shine like gold.³⁰⁵ The emperor watched the races in the circus from the *pulvinar*. It was

there, in the plot of Piso (AD 65), that the plan was devised to kill the emperor by taking advantage of the confusion presented by the *ludi*. Plautius Lateranus, the designated consul, would have thrown himself at the emperor's feet. He would have pretended to beg, and when the emperor brought him to his feet, Lateranus was to stab him and leave the others in on the conspiracy to finish him off.³⁰⁶

The fire of Nero (AD 64), which blazed through the city for six days and seven nights, broke out in Circus Maximus. The flames had their start in the *tabernae* on the curved side facing Palatine Hill and Caelian Hill, which were full of flammable merchandise.³⁰⁷ Strong winds stoked the flames, and from there the fire quickly spread to the rest of the building and then on to the Great Altar of Hercules.³⁰⁸ Despite the fact that the circus was seriously damaged, repair work was so quickly carried out that Nero was already able to use the building in AD 66³⁰⁹ and then again in 68, when he celebrated a triumph for victories in the games of Greece.³¹⁰ In order to allow the entrance of the sumptuous triumphal procession into the circus, the ancient arch on the curved side of the buildings, identified as the *fornix Stertini* (XI 180), was demolished for the occasion.³¹¹ In the procession, Nero rode the same chariot that had been Augustus's. He was dressed in purple with a cape decorated with golden stars and an Olympian crown of olive leaves. He carried the laurel crown of Delphi in his hand. He stopped in front of Augustus's obelisk, where he placed the crown, then exited the circus, crossed the *Velabrum* and the Forum, and continued on to Capitoline Hill. Nero then concluded the procession as it never had been concluded before—at the Temple of Apollo and the Home of Augustus (X 201).

Despite the numerous fires, the circus was still among the most beautiful buildings in the city at the time of Vespasian.³¹² In AD 80, a new arch was put up in the center of the curved side, at the same point as the arch Nero destroyed (XI 144). The Senate and the Roman people dedicated the monument to Emperor Titus to celebrate his victory in Judea and the destruction of Jerusalem (AD 70).³¹³ As shown by the *Forma Urbis* and other iconographical sources (table 176C),³¹⁴ the entrance had three interconnected archways, with a four-horse chariot on top and steps on either side for reaching the lower level of the track and the street outside.³¹⁵ Part of the northern archway has been identified; it was built in *opus quadratum* using peperino and travertine. The column before it, some steps from the stairs, as well as fragments of columns in marble from Luni, fragments of pilasters, the cornice, and the frieze have all also been found.³¹⁶

During the reign of Domitian, the circus was struck by another fire. After the flames had gone out, the emperor undertook a complete restructuring of the building, which had clearly been too damaged for any more partial restorations.³¹⁷ This project was started by Domitian, but was only completed under Trajan. It was the most significant reconstruction executed on the circus and gave the structure its definitive appearance. Most of the surviving

structures belong to this restoration (fig. 151). Numerous stamped bricks from the late Flavian period testify to the fact that most of these were made under Domitian.³¹⁸

As part of the massive project, the front of *domus Augusti* on Palatine that looked out over the circus was also redone (*moenianum*; X 201). Domitian watched the spectacles from Palatine Hill, from a *cubiculum* of *domus Augustiana* (X 17). Like most of his predecessors, he preferred an isolated place to the imperial balcony in the *pulvinar*.³¹⁹ During his reign, the grand spectacles continued to be put on frequently, despite the reconstruction work that was under way in the circus.³²⁰ The building sites were probably organized in sectors so that they would not impede on the functions of the circus during spectacles.

Trajan completed the reconstruction in AD 103³²¹ and took all the credit for it since a *damnatio memoriae* had been decreed upon the last of the Flavians.³²² The literature reports that stones from Domitian's *Naumachia* were reused when Trajan rebuilt the circus.³²³ The structures belonging to this reconstruction that have been archeologically documented and remain visible today are concentrated in the southeastern sector of the circus, where the curved side was. These permit the reconstruction of the general architectural plan (XI 1-2; tables 175-76). Other clues come from the fragments of the Severan *Forma Urbis* (XI 163-64, 168-75, 414),³²⁴ and yet others were documented by Rodolfo Lanciani, who drew the structure in his *Forma Urbis* (XI 412-13).³²⁵

The new building, which may very well have been designed by Domitian, occupied an area 600 meters long and around 150 meters wide. Its construction made use of the masonry of the structure from the periods of Caesar and Augustus as a foundation. The sector that faced the road, which had probably been filled with *tabernae*, was replaced with a walkway. The successive sectors substantially followed the older plan. The walkway led to archways with radial walls that gave way to an intermediate corridor that led to a space next to the podium. The arena was on the other side of the wall.³²⁶ Pliny writes that Trajan, like Nero, enlarged the circus's *cavea* (*immensum latus circi*).³²⁷ A new series of steps was added to the stands, which created five thousand new seats,³²⁸ some of which were reserved for the thirty-five tribes of the city.³²⁹ He probably also rebuilt the *pulvinar* and watched the games from there, thereby abandoning the emperor's habit of retiring to the private imperial palace on Palatine Hill (whence the view was no longer clear).³³⁰

The circus's rows of archways were structured into three functional sections: a row of *taberna* was followed by a barrel-vault walkway that was open on the far side, while the third sector of archways led to stairs leading to the upper levels.³³¹ Spectators could reach the different sectors of the *cavea* through these various paths. The senators and knights, as well as the vestal virgins and those belonging to the priestly class, sat in the first rows beside the podium (*ima cavea*). They reached their seats by following an almost flat path from the archway via a connecting corridor. The other spectators

climbed the steps that were placed by the archways to reach the upper level. From there, some then had direct access to their seats (*media cavea*), while others had to climb the last wooden steps. These led to the worst seats, on the highest part of the cavea (*summa cavea in ligneis*). The external façade of the building (facing onto the road) was divided into three orders, as shown on the coins of Trajan and Caracalla. Above the arches of the external walkway there were two orders, decorated with pilasters that had windows between them.

The grand building soon turned out to be lacking in stability. Shortly after its construction, buttresses and supporting walls were added to the weak external pillars and radial walls. More support features were added bit by bit over the proceeding periods.³³² Ancient literature speaks of continuous cave-ins and collapses during the races, in which thousands of people lost their lives. During the reign of Antoninus Pius, the upper part of the wooden bleachers collapsed causing the death of 1,112 spectators.³³³

The side where the *carceres* stood has not been significantly documented from an archeological point of view. We do know that the structure, which had previously been open to the air, was covered with a terrace by the imperial period.³³⁴ A structure with the form of a small tetrastyle temple was set up above the central door.³³⁵ It was from there that the magistrates signaled the start of the races by dropping a piece of cloth (*mappa*).³³⁶ It may be identified as the *aedes Matris Deum* (XI 200) listed in the Regionary Catalogues just before the Temple of Ceres and the *XII portae*.³³⁷ In some cases, a female divinity appears there, seated within or as an acroterion on the tympanum, riding a chariot pulled by lions and identifiable as Cybele.³³⁸ This was the Magna Mater, whose most ancient temple was found on Palatine Hill (X 2). She was the mother of all the gods—as well as Zeus's mother and wife—and the goddess of fertility who guaranteed the cosmic rhythm and continuous rebirth of living things and the earth itself.³³⁹

Zeus/Jupiter, known here as Jupiter Arborator, was also worshipped in this temple, which is listed solely in the *Notitia* and not mentioned elsewhere.³⁴⁰ This cult seems to have been linked to the growing of trees and in particular to pruning.³⁴¹ We know that Attis, the Phrygian shepherd and consort of Cybele, was castrated below a pine tree after having betrayed the goddess with a mortal woman.³⁴² This figure often takes on cosmic significance and is represented with his head shaven like the disk of the sun. Furthermore, the cutting of pine trees consecrated to Attis fell on March 22, the day of the equinox.³⁴³ This may also imply a connection with Jupiter.³⁴⁴ A tree is portrayed to the left of the temple in the mosaic of Piazza Armerina. It can be recognized as a tree sacred to the goddess. It has been hypothesized that the tree may have been housed under a single pitched roof that branched off from the slope of the temple's roof.³⁴⁵

As of the imperial period, another cult of Cybele was present on the axis next to the obelisk of Augustus. It was a statue of the goddess with a mural crown, seated on a lion

(XI 393). We know the appearance of this *simulacrum* (which served to protect the axis³⁴⁶) from the iconographic sources that portray the circus, as well as from a statue of Neptune that was probably a copy of the one in the circus (table 176A-B).³⁴⁷ In the myth, the lion served Cybele. It was considered a symbol of fire and corresponded to the sign of the zodiac in which the Sun was lodged.³⁴⁸ This goddess's position next to the obelisk/meridian conveyed strong solar connotations upon her. The portrayal of Cybele/Magna Mater has been recognized in the female divinity shown through the archway that has been interpreted as the arch in Circus Maximus's semicircle in the *Haterii* relief. This would then be Cybele on the axis structure, or perhaps the same goddess housed in the shrine on the *carceres*.³⁴⁹ Whoever was under the archway and looked into the circus could easily see the goddess looking down upon the *carceres*.

The dedication of the *simulacrum* may have fallen on AD 1 August 45. According to an edict by Claudius, who was a devout worshipper of Cybele, this was the day on which a solar eclipse was announced. It also coincided with the emperor's birthday, under the sign of Leo. This then would have been another case in which the space between the two finish lines corresponded to a temple outside the track itself, in this case on the *carceres*.³⁵⁰ Again on the anniversary of Claudius's birth, this time in AD 52, the emperor dedicated a marble shrine (*aedicula marmorata*; XI 348) between Circus Maximus and *vicus portae Raudusculanae*. An earthquake had destroyed the shrine a few years earlier.³⁵¹ The reconstruction was overseen by the members of the *collegium Augustianum Maius Castrense*, an association of slaves and freedmen of the imperial family that may have corresponded to a *castra* of the urban cohorts.³⁵² The building must have been located where the ancient Temple of Mercury (XI 201) has been placed, looking out on the road that ran under the Arch of Titus.

This area outside the circus may have already been crowded with shops.³⁵³ When apparently referring to merchants around the Temple of Mercury, Ovid writes that they usually drew holy water from the nearby *aqua Mercuri* (XI 415) to purify themselves of their acts of dishonesty.³⁵⁴

2.8. Middle Empire (AD 180–312)

Between the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries AD, the ground level of the Forum Boarium was raised by approximately 1.5 meters. The small Altar of Concordia Augusta was buried, and a building in *opus latericium* (XI 95) that can be dated to the period of Severus was built over it.³⁵⁵ The main roads were rebuilt on the higher level.

It is likely that over the middle imperial period, the *ara Maxima* complex was subject to restructuring. The reconstruction of the *consaeptum sacellum* as a colonnaded enclosure (XI 109) may have been undertaken under Commodus (AD 180–93).³⁵⁶ The emperor had a particular passion for the figure of Hercules, of which the *ara Maxima* was the

main religious site. Commodus even liked to be portrayed as the deified hero; there are many images of the emperor wearing a lion skin and club.³⁵⁷ A group of inscriptions found near the *ara Maxima* date to this period and the years just after it. They commemorate the sacrifices made by the urban prefects, who oversaw the rites of August 12.³⁵⁸ In this phase, the *consaeptum sacellum* was enlarged toward the road that crossed the Forum Boarium, thereby burying the sloped flagstone pavement from the Republican period. The colonnade then held up an attic with caryatids.³⁵⁹ Two of the heads of these statues were found near the monument, and a third nearly intact caryatid from a private collection appears to belong to the same group.³⁶⁰ A ritual banquet was held around the statue of Hercules inside the colonnade, in the presence of the emperor and the senators, who were all crowned, like the god, with crowns of laurel leaves. Citizens were also present at the same rite, waiting for the distribution of the sacrificial meats (*hostiae*) outside. Some of them may have sat on a marble bench that was made in that period on the side of the *ara Maxima* that faced onto the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis*, just below the four niches for statues.

The Basilica of Santa Maria in Cosmedin preserves part of the columns from the later reconstruction of the *consaeptum sacellum* in *opus latericium*, which may have occurred during the period of Maximian (AD 286–310). Maximian was also devoted to (and identified with) Hercules.³⁶¹ A second group of dedications related to the rite celebrated by the urban prefect may date to his reign.³⁶² In this period, the enclosure was reconstructed in the form of a colonnade with reused capitals (end of the second to the beginning of the third centuries AD). Four arches stood atop these capitals on the short side, with eight arches along the road. The borders of the arches still preserve their decoration in stucco, which portray stylized vines and fruit.³⁶³

At the end of the third century, a mithraeum (XI 21; table 177, a.t. 25) was set up in the stalls below the *secretarium Circi*. This religious site dedicated to Mithras is still preserved between the foundation pylons of the Museum of Rome building (*Palazzo dei Musei di Roma*; fig. 155).³⁶⁴ At that time, certain partition walls were built and the architectural elements needed for the cult were installed. This readaptation led to the unorthodox shape of the mithraeum, which is usually made up of a long rectangular room with continuous lateral benches. This mithraeum made use of the older structure's central corridor, using the stalls on either side of it for the sacred furnishings (*apparitorium*). Another three stalls were fitted with masonry beds for the sacred banquet. Mithras was worshipped in an ancient Hellenized Persian cult, but the god had been assimilated with *Sol Invictus*. The *Invictus* epithet was also applied to Hercules, and there were other overlapping elements between the cults. The mithraeum was also located near the site of ancient votive offerings of the cult of Hercules *Invictus* (4th–3rd centuries BC; XI 380). It does not appear to be an accident that the Sun cult was placed right in front of Circus Maximus, whose patron god was the Sun.³⁶⁵

During the reign of Caracalla, the circus underwent important restructuring work, whose conclusion was celebrated with the issuance of *sestertii* and *aurei* in AD 213. These coins showed the renovated building. The work focused especially on the area around the *carceres*, which were themselves enlarged.³⁶⁶ Sumptuous *ludi* continued to be held in the building. Elagabalus had a *naumachia* built in the pools along the axis, which he then had filled with wine.³⁶⁷ Small boats were probably used in the larger pools, which may have measured 50 meters in length and 10 meters in width. Probus had a forest of trees planted on the arena and let every type of beast loose in them for a spectacular hunt (*venatio amplissima*).³⁶⁸ Under Diocletian, part of the *summa cavea* once again collapsed, causing the death of thirteen thousand spectators.³⁶⁹

In the period of Septimius Severus, the *Septizodium* (X 36) was built outside the circus on the southeastern corner of Palatine Hill. This monumental *nymphaeum* encroached on and almost completely occupied the road that went around the circus.

The Arch of Titus, in the center of the curved side of the circus, marked the end of *via Nova*. This road was probably restructured in this period as a monumental route.³⁷⁰ On either side of it were numerous *tabernae* (XI 164, 346–47, 382), which are known from the fragments of the marble *Forma Urbis* that was made in that same period.³⁷¹

2.9. Late imperial and high medieval periods (AD 312–553) (tables a.t. 19, 25–26)

The Regionary Catalogues show that the *Velabrum* was part of *Regio XI* in the late ancient period. While the precise borders have been quite difficult to specify, the name *Velabrum* indicated the zone at the foot of Capitoline Hill and Palatine Hill, where the Church of San Giorgio al Velabro now stands. It may have extended out to the Sanctuary of the *ara Maxima* and partially overlapped with the most limited definition of the Forum Boarium.³⁷² Probably in the mid-fourth century AD, a large quadrifrons arch (*ianus quadrifrons*) was put up in this area (ill. 22). It still stands near the church on the same spot (XI 98; table 178; fig. 154). Four roads headed out from the arch. Two headed north and east through the *Velabrum* outside the region; the other two headed south and west through the *Velabrum* within the region. This included the area of the Forum Boarium, to which the arch constituted an entrance.³⁷³ The four square columns on which the arches stood held up a groin vault, atop which stood a high attic.³⁷⁴ This attic was then, in turn, covered with decorative elements such as a quadriga chariot and some statues.³⁷⁵ There was also a large inscription on the attic. Unfortunately, we know of only the few fragments of that inscription that were integrated into the walls of the nearby church, which cannot be put together even hypothetically. This may have been the *arcus divi Constantini* listed as the final monument in the Regionary Catalogues. It was dedicated in AD 356 by Constantius II during his visit to Rome.³⁷⁶

In AD 337, near the *ara Maxima*, Lucius Crepereius Madalianus, the prefect of provisions *cum iure gladii* (meaning with the power to enforce death sentences), may have dedicated a statue to Constantine that would have been placed near the *ara Maxima* (XI 122).

Some inscriptions found near the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin may refer to the restorations of the *ara Maxima* complex. There is one from AD 414 by Urban Prefect Caecina Decius Aginatus Albinus, who made a dedication to Honorius and Theodosius (*CIL*, VI 1659; XI 225). Another dates from AD 425—at which time the urban prefect was Anicius Acilius Glabrio Faustus—and may have followed the earthquake of 422 (*CIL*, VI 1677; XI 225).

Starting in either the fifth or sixth century AD, a Christian oratory was installed in the Ara Maxima complex (XI 419). This was the root of the church in its current dimensions (Adrian I, 772–75). The hall, most likely with an apse, occupied the *consaeptum sacellum*. However, the hall was set up transverse to it, with the entrance between the two columns on the longer side. The new structure was covered with a roof that can be dated to between the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth based on the stamps in the roof tiles.³⁷⁷ The two spaces to the sides of the Christian hall probably remained open to the air, as well as the courtyard that was used for storage.³⁷⁸

Constantine restored the stands in Circus Maximus (ill. 23) that had collapsed under Diocletian.³⁷⁹ The portico of the *summa cavea* was also decorated with golden columns at that time.³⁸⁰ According to Ammianus Marcellinus, he planned to bring a second obelisk to Rome, perhaps to be placed in Circus Maximus. It would have been the obelisk of Thutmose III (fifteenth century BC), which was found in Thebes (Karnak).³⁸¹ It was one of the largest obelisks ever made (32 meters high) and was a gift to the Sun (*speciali munere dedicatus*) in the Temple of Amun. Augustus himself had not dared to remove it.³⁸² However, when everything was prepared in Alexandria to embark with the obelisk, the emperor died, and the monument spent twenty-five years in the Egyptian capital before continuing its voyage.

It was only in AD 357 that Constantius II had the obelisk brought across the Mediterranean and up the Tiber to Rome. There, it made its entrance to the city through *porta Ostiensis* (XIII 31) and traveled up *vicus Portae Raudusculanae* and *vicus Piscinae Publicae* (see Regio XII). As the obelisk of Augustus was already placed in the center of the axis, the larger obelisk was then erected in the center of the arena (*in media cavea*; XI 148) so that it complemented the large exedra of the imperial palace on Palatine Hill (X 17-4). The gilded bronze sphere that was placed atop it was struck by lightning and then replaced with a torch-shaped decoration (which was also in gilded bronze).

An inscription in twenty-four hexameters engraved on the four sides of the base effusively celebrated the deeds of Constantius II, exalting his privileged relationship with Rome (as opposed to Constantinople).³⁸³ Constantius had

dedicated the grand obelisk to the capital of the Empire as a gift (*donum*) and as a trophy (*tropaeum*) to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the victory in the civil wars and the Gallic campaigns. This symbol—once again invoking the Sun—was the last great monument put up in the circus. We know it as the Lateran obelisk because it is now found in front of the Basilica of St. John Lateran (fig. 160).³⁸⁴

Circus Maximus continued to be the stage for races and spectacles throughout the fifth century and into the period of Theodoric.³⁸⁵ The last mention of games in Rome is from 549, when Totila organized a sumptuous spectacle that most likely made use of the largest circus in the Empire.³⁸⁶

Notes

1 The limits of the Forum Boarium are not certain. According to the sources, it was in the area between the Tiber (between the *pons Aemilius* and the *pons Sublicius* bridges), the shorter side of Circus Maximus (*carceres*; Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.477–78; Pseudo Aethicus, *Cosmography*, 1.83), the slopes of Aventine Hill (at the bottom of *clivus Publicii*; XI 183), and the slopes of Palatine Hill (*vicus Tuscus*; VIII 139; Livy, 28.37.15). The monuments expressly denominated *in foro Boario* are the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis* (XI 118), which was found in the central area of the Forum, and some monuments outside of Regio XI: the Temple of Fortuna and Temple of Mater Matuta (Livy, 33.27.4; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 4.27.7; VIII 686), and the nearby *fornice Stertinii* (VIII 801, 1030; Livy, 33.27), which marked the northern limit of the Forum. The *Arcus Argentariorum*, near the Church of San Giorgio al Velabro (VIII 106), was also dedicated by the *boari* merchants from the Forum (*CIL*, VI 1035 = *ILS* 426). This arch was one of the entrances to the Forum and also indicated its limit near *vicus Tuscus*. The area defined in this way would seem to exclude the strip of land that overlooked the Tiber, where the temple of *Portunus* (XI 2) and the temple of *Hercules Olivarius* (XI 97) were located (neither of which were ever denominated *in foro Boario*). This area, unlike the Forum, was outside of the Republican walls and the *pomerium*, the sacred border that defined the inaugurated city (see previous discussion). On this matter, see Coarelli 1988a, pages 9–13, who hypothesizes that the toponym may have indicated a more restricted area. Instead, it would have indicated the strictest sense of the plaza, meaning solely the center of Forum Boarium, around which were the *ara Maxima* (XI 109–10), the *aedes Herculis Pompeiani* (XI 192), and the *aedes Aemiliana Herculis* (XI 118). On the *pomerium* line in this area see Sofia 2012, p. 115.

2 Livy, 29.37.

3 Gregorio di Tours, *Historia Francorum*, 10.1; Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel*, 2.6.22.

4 The name *delle Carrozze* (of the Carriages) was actually added later to distinguish this church from the nearby Church of Santo Stefano Rotondo.

5 Augenti 1999.

6 Nolli 1748, table 7.

7 The large circular stone was placed in the portico prior to the 1400s and was built into the masonry of the portico in 1632. Nothing is certain about where it came from. The hypothesis that it was originally placed in the pavement of the nearby *aedes Aemiliana Herculis* (see following discussion) is based solely on the proximity of this temple to the portico (Giovenale 1927, pages 375–81).

- 8 On the development of the area in the medieval and modern periods, see Motta 1995 with the bibliography therein.
- 9 Ciancio Rossetto 2006.
- 10 On this question, see Carafa, *Information System*.
- 11 Ammerman 1999; Guidobaldi and Angelelli 1999.
- 12 According to a modern interpretation, this section of the swamp had the name *Velabrum minus* (see *ibid.*). However, the toponym, mentioned solely by Varro (*On the Latin Language*, 5.156), most likely referred to the zone of the Roman Forum, near the cult of Janus Geminus, where a hot springs (*Lautolae*, VIII 832) was said to be the origin of the swamp.
- 13 The term *ruma* (bend) comes from *Rumon*, the Etruscan name for the Tiber, the river of swampy inlets, as well as the name of the city itself.
- 14 According to Varro, the name *Velabrum* is derived from either *vehere*, which means “to transport/ferry,” or from *velaturam facere*, which means “to ferry for a fee” (Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.156). According to another etymology, the term comes from *evelatum/ventilatatum*, which indicated the practice of ventilating grain (Festus, page 77M = 68L) or the custom of covering the path of the triumphal marches that passed through the area with large cloths (*belatūna*) (Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 5).
- 15 This was an older religious site, on the western edge of what would later be the axis of the circus, distinct from the later site founded on the slopes of Aventine Hill (see § 2.3; XI 182).
- 16 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.33.1–2. The two cults were placed in correspondence with the two ends of what would later be the axis of Circus Maximus. Consus had the eastern half (*metae primae*), while Ceres had the western half (*metae secundae*). For this hypothesis, see Marcatili 2009, page 91.
- 17 Vitruvius, 1.7.2; *In Defense of Balbus*, 24.55.
- 18 Livy, 34.18–19; Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.58.1–2; Solinus, 1.10; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.271; *Chronography of 354*; Scholia Veronensia on Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.104; Coarelli 1996h.
- 19 Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.7.33. See § 2.2.
- 20 Gellius in Solinus, 1.7; Pseudo Aurelius Victor, *Origins of the Roman People*, 6.5. The *Invictus* epithet can be traced back to 312 BC, when the cult is mentioned in a work by Appius Claudius Caecus (see § 2.4; Coarelli 1988a, page 184). For the monumental reconstruction of the *ara Maxima*, which can be identified in the remains below the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (XI 110), see § 2.4.
- 21 Solinus, 1.10 and following sections.
- 22 Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.41.1.
- 23 Solinus, 1.10 and following sections. These two objects are linked to the curing of meat. The club, through the invocation of the god *Myagros*, whose name means “he who captures flies,” had the power to keep dogs away. The *scyphus* was generally used to hold salt, which was used to dry meat. For the location of the Great Altar, see Coarelli 1988a, pages 61–77.
- 24 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.45; Livy, 1.21.
- 25 Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 32; Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.425–625 and following; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.7.3; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.38.
- 26 Festus, page 14.450L; Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 7.44.
- 27 Tradition attributes the construction of *pons Sublicius* to Ancus Marcius.
- 28 Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.503–18.
- 29 On the cults in the area, see also Bruno 2010b.
- 30 Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.102 and following sections.
- 31 The cult was defined as *antiquus* in Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.105. See also *Fasti*, 2.67–68.
- 32 Festus, page 83L. See Coarelli 1996d.
- 33 The Eastern-Greek god Melqart was hidden under the guise of Hercules and would suggest the presence of Phoenician and Greek merchants in the area (Rebuffat 1966; Coarelli 1988a, page 127 and following pages).
- 34 On the relationship between the cult of Hercules and the salt *emporium*, see Torelli 2006, pages 579–82.
- 35 Carandini 1997.
- 36 Coarelli 1996zb.
- 37 Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.121.
- 38 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.154.
- 39 Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 20; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.12.124 and following sections; Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, 1.22.11. See Carandini 1997, page 191.
- 40 Antistius Labeo in Festus, pages 474–76L; Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.41.
- 41 According to this reconstruction, the area of the *Velabrum* fell within the *pagus Tiberinus*, while the swamp of Murcia was in the *pagus Aventinensis*. See above, Carandini, *Limits of the Curiae*.
- 42 For more on this, see § 2.5.
- 43 Cato, *On Agriculture*, 134. See also Le Bonniec 1958.
- 44 For more on this, see Marcatili 2009, pages 83–91.
- 45 Carafa 2010a.
- 46 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 5.5–7.
- 47 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.33.2, 2.31.2–3; Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 6.20; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.24; Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.6; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 14.2–6; Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 8.636; Livy, 1.9.
- 48 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 5.5; Livy, 1.9.6; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 14.3; Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 8.635; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 2.30.3; Strabo, 5.3.2; Polyaeus, 8.3.1.
- 49 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 5.7.
- 50 Festus, page 41L. For more on this, see Marcatili 2009, pages 18–36 and Carafa 2010a.
- 51 Cicero, *On the Republic*, 1.16.25; Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 27.6–8.
- 52 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.1–2; Isidore of Seville, 18.28.1; John the Lydian, *De mensibus*, 3.22. The altar may have been at the same site where it was found in later periods, along the axis of the circus, in front of the Temple of the Sun on the slopes of Aventine Hill. See Marcatili 2009, pages 59–75.
- 53 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.74.
- 54 Festus, page 254L; Festus, page 66L; Pliny, *Natural History*, 2.138; Augustine, *City of God*, 4.23.
- 55 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.74.
- 56 The Foligno relief (mid-third century AD) shows an altar along the axis of the circus at the level of the arena, which can be identified as the altar of Luna. The altar would occupy a specular position with respect to the altar of the Sun. According to this reconstruction, the southeastern sector of the circus's axis would have been dedicated to the cult of the Sun, while the northwestern sector was dedicated to the cult of Luna (Marcatili 2009, pages 75–82). Perhaps its position at the level of the arena represented the less astral nature of the divinity, given that (as a satellite of the Earth) she was more “earthly.” The future Temple of Luna, attributed to Servius Tullius, was instead found on the slopes of Aventine Hill, near the Temple of Ceres, in *Regio XIII* (44).
- 57 Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.2.7–8. These goddesses were worshipped at statues erected along the axis of the circus.
- 58 Livy, 39.12.13; Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.518; Scholia of Juvenal, 2.3.
- 59 For construction of the *cloaca Maxima*, see Bauer 1993b; Livy, 1.38.6 and 1.56.2; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 3.67.5 and 4.44.1. For construction of the other sewer, see Buonfiglio 2014b.
- 60 It has been hypothesized that this area extended beyond the new walls (see following discussion) and included the area overlooking the Tiber, which was above sea level.
- 61 There are essentially two hypotheses regarding the route of the

city walls in this area. According to some, the walls did not exist here: there was an interruption between the walls on either side of the segment running perpendicular to the Tiber between Capitoline Hill and Aventine Hill (among others, this group includes Lugli 1933; Lyngby 1954). Others have instead envisioned a continuous wall running parallel to the river (von Gerkan 1955; Piganiol 1909; Säflund 1932; Coarelli 1988a). Regarding this matter, see also Picozzi and Santoro 1988, Bernard 2012, p. 25, and Cifani (in this volume).

62 Festus, page 79L.

63 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 6.19.

64 Solinus, 18.10; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 1.32.2; Frontinus, *On the Aqueducts of the City of Rome*, 5.9. Regarding the various placements of the gate, see Coarelli 1988a, pages 42–50.

65 Coarelli 1988a, pages 42–50.

66 Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 4.511.

67 The cult of Ceres was on the axis and would have symbolized the gate to the Afterlife, evoking the location whence Proserpina had been abducted (see Marcattili 2009, pages 83–108).

68 Festus, pages 249L, 265L. The identification with *porta Trigemina* stems from the relationship of the altar with the *columna Minucia* (see § 2.3), which was denominated *extra portam Trigeminam* (Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.15, 34.21; Livy, 4.16.2).

69 Carandini 2006b, page 58.

70 Regarding the peri-urban *pagi*, see Carandini, *Limits of the Curiae*.

71 Ciancio Rossetto 1993.

72 Livy, 1.35.7–9; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 3.68.1.

73 Livy, 1.56.2; Pseudo Aurelius Victor, *On Illustrious Men*, 8.3.

74 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 4.44.1.

75 Livy, 1.35.8–9.

76 Cicero, *On the Republic*, 2.36. See Carafa 2010a, page 12.

77 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.3–4.

78 The cultivation of emmer was older; tradition traces it back to Numa. This king established the celebration of the *Fornacalia*, which were held during the parching of emmer (Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.2.8).

79 Statues that can be identified with these three cults are portrayed in the iconographic sources of the imperial period. Among others, they are shown on the ex-Lateran relief in the Vatican Museums (period of Trajan) and the Foligno relief (mid-third century AD). For the association between the statues and the altars, see Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.3–4, and Probus, *Commentary on Virgil's Bucolics*, 6.31. The practice of erecting statues atop columns is very ancient (see the Sanctuary of *Lapis Niger* in the Roman Forum, VIII 500, which was originally made up of a statue of Vulcan atop a column with an altar before it).

80 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.3–4.

81 The gods of Samothrace were in turn identified with the Penates, the deified spirits of the ancestors (Cassius Hemina in Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 1.378 and Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.4.9.). According to Varro, the Penates were celestial divinities (Varro in Arnobius, *Against the Heathen*, 3.40).

82 Regarding this argument, see Humphrey 1986, page 277, and Marcattili 2009, pages 123–35. According to Marcattili, the duplication of the three statues may have been related to the introduction of wheat alongside the more ancient cultivation of emmer, as previously mentioned.

83 Coarelli 1988a, pages 293–301.

84 Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 10; *On the Fortune of the Romans*, 10; Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.145; *Fasti Praenestini, April Calendar; I. I.*, XIII, 2, page 433 and following pages.

85 Carafa 2010a.

86 Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.7.33. It can be ruled out that this

was the same statue made by the Etruscan sculptor Vulca, which is datable to the sixth century BC. Vulca's statue was in terracotta, while the Hercules *Triumphalis* was probably in bronze (Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.157). See Coarelli 1988a, page 165.

87 Ateneus in Posidonius, *FgrHist* 87F1. For this perspective, see Vernole 2002, pages 118–20.

88 On the ritual value of grapevines and wine in the cult of Jupiter, see Montanari 1990, pages 137–62.

89 Coarelli 1988a, pages 16–19. On the route of the procession through the circus, see also Gjerstad 1967, page 13. The recent hypothesis suggesting the parade instead went along the road at the foot of Palatine Hill (modern-day via dei Cerchi) does not seem likely (Marcattili 2009, pages 180–86).

90 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 6.17.2–3; Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.49.1. See Coarelli 1993u.

91 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 6.94.3. The three divinities correspond to the Greek triad of Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore. Liber and Libera were considered to be children of Ceres (Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*, 2.62).

92 Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.154.

93 See § 2.6.

94 Livy, 40.2.1–2.

95 The Temple of Ceres was actually quite close to the future Temple of Flora, which in turn was found at the start of that road (Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.49.1). For *clivus Publicius*, see Coarelli 1993v.

96 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 6.94.3.

97 Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.4.15; Livy, 2.41.10; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 8.79; Valerius Maximus, 5.8.2.

98 Livy, 3.55.13.

99 Varro in Nonius Marcellus, 63.1.L. See Coarelli 1993g.

100 Livy, 4.16.2.

101 Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.21.

102 The passage in Livy is corrupted and has been amended in two ways. The dedication to Augurinus was either an ox and a golden statue (*L. Minucio bove aurato et statua extra portam Trigeminam est donatus*), or a statue of a golden ox (*statua ad bovem auratum*; Coarelli 1995l). According to Coarelli: (a) this hypothetical statue could be identified with an image placed on an honorary column mentioned by Pliny (*Natural History*, 18.15; 34.21); or (b) the *bos auratus* can be identified with a bronze statue from Aegina that was brought to Rome after 210 BC by Sulpicius Galba, as well as the gilded bronze bull (*aereum tauri simulacrum*) mentioned by Tacitus as being at the point of the Romulan *pomerium* in the Forum Boarium (Tacitus, 12.24.1). Torelli has a different opinion (see § 2.5).

103 Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.477–78.

104 Humphrey 1986, pages 78–83; Ciancio Rossetto 1999a; Marcattili 2009, page 205.

105 Marcattili 2009, pages 187–91.

106 Trophies from victorious battles were also exhibited in the hippodrome of Olympia in Greece.

107 See § 2.5.

108 Coarelli 1995b.

109 Andreussi 1996c.

110 Livy, 2.27.5.

111 Idem, 2.21.7; Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.670; Martial, 7.74.5, 12.67.1.

112 Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.669.

113 According to Servius (*Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 9.406), temples dedicated to Mercury, as well as those of Vesta, Diana, and Hercules, were generally circular. There is also a coin by Marcus Aurelius, probably pertaining to a restoration, showing a circular temple with a podium with three steps and a curved tympanum held up by four herms (*RIC* III, 299 N 1974, table 12.247).

114 Apuleius, *Metamorphoses*, 6.8: *retro metas Murtias*.

- 115 Zevi 1987, pages 121–32.
- 116 For *via Appia*, see above, *Regio I*. For *vicus portae Raudusculanae*, see above, *Regio XII*.
- 117 This segment was found in 1969 and is in tuff from Grotta Oscura (Coarelli 1988a, page 36; fig. 20.3).
- 118 Cressedi 1984, page 260, n. 10.
- 119 The arch in this segment of the walls most likely came from a later time. Cressedi 1984, page 265 and following pages, n. 2.
- 120 Colini, Buzzetti 1986, pages 8, 14. Del Buono 2009, page 17. Coarelli also hypothesized that the walls went by the portico (Coarelli 1988a, page 39).
- 121 Cressedi 1984, page 259, note 8.
- 122 For the location of the gate in this area and the other placement hypotheses, see Coarelli 1988a, pages 42–50.
- 123 Cressedi 1984, page 259, note 8; Ciancio Rossetto 1985, page 214.
- 124 Del Buono 2009; Buzzetti 1999a; Ruggiero 1991–92; Colini and Buzzetti 1986.
- 125 According to Del Buono this viaduct, which took up only half of the podium, was the only access to the temple. This view is based on the lack of remains that can be attributed to a stairway and the fact that, if the size of the structure is considered, it would have hardly been justified if it was used only during the flood season (2009, page 16).
- 126 Mucci 1993.
- 127 Frontinus, *On the Aqueducts of the City of Rome*, 5.9.
- 128 Coarelli 1988a, pages 77–84.
- 129 *Fasti Amiterni*; Coarelli 1996i.
- 130 Livy, 9, 29, 9–10; 9, 34, 18–19. The *Pinarii* were a well-known patrician family between the fifth and fourth centuries BC. There is, however, no record of the *Potitii*. It has been hypothesized that their name is based on an archaic designation for war slaves (“captured”). This would also explain their subordinate position to the *Pinarii* (Palmer 1965). According to this reconstruction, the *Pinarii* would have originally been in charge of the cult and the administrators of the sanctuary’s slaves, the *Potitii*. The extinction of the *Pinarii* and the *Potitii* led to an arbitrary assumption of the role, which would have driven Appius Claudius to intervene. For more on the matter, see Torelli 2006.
- 131 Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.6.16. Also see Servius, *Commentary on Virgil’s Aeneid*, 3.407, 8.288.
- 132 Pliny, *Natural History*, 34.57.
- 133 Vitruvius, 3.3.5.
- 134 *Ibid.*
- 135 As shown by the letters painted on them: *H*, *HV*, and *HVI*. These can be interpreted as dedications to Hercules *Invictus* or Hercules *Victor*.
- 136 Livy, 10.23.13.
- 137 Coarelli 1999l.
- 138 The location corresponds to the area to the left of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, where the former Pastificio Pantanella structure stands.
- 139 Plotina coin (Trajan period), BMC*Emp III*, page 107, note 529; table 18.5.
- 140 Livy, 8.20.2.
- 141 Or so they are described about one century later (Ennius in Cicero, *On Divination*, 1.108).
- 142 Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 5.153.
- 143 The funerary character of this god, who is linked to horses, is revealed by the “Hymn to Demeter,” in which the god guides Kore on her return from the underworld (*Hymn to Demeter*, 375–83).
- 144 In Athens as well, during the Panathenaea, the starting blocks were near the altar of the Twelve Gods, and the running of the horses came to an end near the Herms.
- 145 White/winter/air, red/summer/fire, green/spring/earth, blue/autumn/sky and water.
- 146 Coarelli 1999za.
- 147 Ovid, *Fasti*, 6.731.
- 148 Pliny describes the ceremony, in which a dog was crucified in the area between the two temples (Pliny, *Natural History*, 29.57). For the Temple of *Iuventas* (XI 199), see § 2.5.
- 149 Livy, *Periochae*, 14.
- 150 Papi 1999u.
- 151 Livy, 10.31.9.
- 152 Servius, *Commentary on Virgil’s Aeneid*, 1.720.
- 153 Festus 265M = 322L.
- 154 Plautus, *Prisoners*, 489; *Curculio*, 482–84.
- 155 Horace, *Satires*, 2.3.228–30.
- 156 Cressedi 1984, pages 273–76, note 28b.
- 157 Velleius Paterculus, 1.14.8 (241 BC); Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.286 (238 BC).
- 158 *Fasti Prenestini* (I. I., 12.2, 133 and 452).
- 159 Twenty-four years after the start of the first Punic War. Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.49; Velleius Paterculus, 1.14.8; Papi 1995j.
- 160 Vitruvius, 1.2.5.
- 161 Cassius Dio, 50.10.3.
- 162 *Fasti Prenestini* (I. I., 12.2, 133 and 452).
- 163 Livy, 34.47.15.
- 164 Livy, 35.9.2–3.
- 165 *Idem*, 35.21.5; 40.8.
- 166 *Idem*, 40.2.1–2.
- 167 Cressedi 1984, page 272, note 29.
- 168 The pylons of the bridge were the work of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior. In 142 BC, Censors Scipio Aemilianus and Lucius Mummius completed a structure using the arches (Livy, 40.51.4). For the *portus*, see Livy, 40.51.4.
- 169 In the area near the Temple of Portunus, the mid-Republican period ground level was 6.50 meters a.s.l., while the late Republican period level was 9.90 meters a.s.l.
- 170 The altitude of the plaza in the late Republican period was around 8.20 meters a.s.l. For the pavement, see Cressedi 1984, page 280.
- 171 The area in front of the temple’s pronaos, which was slightly higher, was probably accessed from the porticos by two lateral stairways with a few steps. The remains of a staircase can be recognized in a structure made up of five masonry partitions on the eastern side of the temple. It cannot be ruled out that a similar staircase existed on the opposite side. A comparison could be made to the Temple of Castor and Pollux, where the area in front of the temple was accessed by two lateral staircases of nine steps apiece (Del Buono 2009, page 28 and note 119).
- 172 Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, 7.3.6 (9 December 50 BC).
- 173 It is not certain whether the basalt pavement, which was found just 1 meter below the modern ground level, is actually antique. It may be a reconstruction from the medieval period or (more likely) from the late imperial period. On *vicus Lucei*, see Palmer 1976–77 and Lega 1999g. One of the *vici* with the same name might be *vicus Lucc[-c.2-3-]*, which is named on the Capitoline Base for *Regio XIV*.
- 174 On the zone between the Forum Boarium and *portus Tiberinus*, see Pisani Sartorio, Colini, and Buzzetti 1986.
- 175 The location of the *Cella Luceiana* is based on the discovery of an inscription near the so-called Pierleoni Tower House in piazza Bocca della Verità (Panciera 2006 page 183–88). The inscription refers to the *Tutela* of the cell, which was restored for the Temple of *Bonus Eventus*. This temple may be identified with the temple near the Baths of Agrippa (IX 24). According to a different interpretation, it may have been located in the warehouses near *porto Tiberinus* (*Regio IX*; Coarelli 1988a, page

- 151; Chioffi 1993; Panciera 2006 pages 183–88).
- 176 Cressedi 1984, page 274, note 38a; pages 273–76, note 38b.
- 177 Cicero, *In Defense of Caelius*.
- 178 Livy, 40.51.6; Coarelli 1999h.
- 179 Coarelli 1996g.
- 180 *Victor* is the most ancient epithet, as indicated in the *Fasti Antiates* from the period prior to Caesar. By the first century AD, the differentiation from *Invictus* had been lost: the same festival is indicated for both in the *Fasti Allifani*, which have been dated to after 17 AD (Coarelli 1988a, page 189).
- 181 He was a sculptor who was active in the last decade of the second century BC. He was the son of Aristandros of Paros, who was also a sculptor and became known in Delos.
- 182 *CIL*, VI 33936.
- 183 The crown of poplar leaves would imply that this cult was the oldest Italian Hercules. The use of the crown of poplar leaves was substituted with the use of the crown of laurel leaves at the same time that the city was founded, when Titus Tatius was buried in the *Loretum maius*, which was a laurel grove on Aventine Hill where the branches for the cult of the *ara Maxima* were taken (Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 8.276; *Bucolics*, 7.61; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.12.1–10).
- 184 Masurius Sabinus in Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.6.9.
- 185 The cognomen *Erennius* was known in Tivoli as a name in the Republican period. The *Ottavii* family took part in the late Republican reconstruction of the Temple of Hercules in Tivoli.
- 186 Coarelli 1988a, pages 195–204.
- 187 On the question of where the *Aemiliana* should be placed, see *Regio IX*.
- 188 Livy, 40.51.4.
- 189 Coarelli 1996f. The value of this temple in terms of triumph, as a counterpoint to that of the value of the archaic triumph represented by the *ara Maxima*, is addressed by Torelli 2006.
- 190 Festus, 181L; Livy, 10.23.3.
- 191 The temple was destroyed by Sixtus IV (1471–84).
- 192 See the drawings of Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481–1536), which were published shortly after the destruction of the temple.
- 193 Palazzo dei Conservatori, Inv. MC1265.
- 194 Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.4.19.
- 195 These scenes showed Scipio's response to Hostilius Mancinus. Scipio had other painted tableaus—in which his role in taking the city was probably disproportionately exalted—exhibited in the Forum (Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.23). Regarding this hypothesis, see Coarelli 1988a, page 173.
- 196 *Idem* 1993b.
- 197 The statue appears in the relief on the Arch of Benevento, which shows the arrival of Trajan in Rome at the *portus Tiberinus*. *Apollo Caelispex* is next to *Hercules Olivarius* and *Portunus*, whose temples can be seen in that order as Trajan arrives from the mouth of the Tiber.
- 198 Plutarch mentions a bronze statue of Flamininus that was “near the large Apollo taken from Carthage, in front of the *carceres*” (Plutarch, *Life of Flamininus*, 1.1).
- 199 Coarelli 1988a, pages 160–93.
- 200 The orientation of the monument, with the corners in the cardinal points, conforms to the *templa sub terra* that was typical of the chthonic gods. See Torelli 2006, page 594.
- 201 Gnecci 1921, 2, note 91.
- 202 The measurement also includes the remains found behind the apses of the church.
- 203 Including the foundations, the base reached a height of approximately 5.79 meters.
- 204 Regarding the comparison with the Sanctuary of *Alba Fucens*, see Torelli 2006.
- 205 Cressedi 1984, page 261, note 12a.
- 206 Two other fixtures appear beside the column. These can be identified as important members of the same family. They may be Tiberius Minucius Augurinus, the consul in 305 BC who died heroically in the second Samnite War, or Marcus Minucius Faustus Augurinus, augur in 300 BC. According to Torelli, who supports the hypothesis already proposed by De Sanctis, Momigliano, and Haftmann, the column was a second-century BC monument. So the second-century coins would not show the same column dedicated to Augurinus as reported by Pliny, but a “new” column that was dedicated at the time the coin was issued (Torelli 1993e). According to Torelli, this would allow for the possibility that the golden ox mentioned by Livy was taken during the sack of the Gauls (390 BC) and that the column was a reintegration of the decor of the ancient *scellum* that took place over the second part of the second century BC.
- 207 Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.24.
- 208 Strabo, 8.8.6.
- 209 Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.154.
- 210 Lega 1993a; *CIL*, VI 37043.
- 211 Appian, *Civil Wars*, 13.32; Florus, *Epitome of the Histories of Titus Livy*, 2.9.14; Augustine, *City of God*, 3.27. Numitorius would have been the father of the knight of the same name indicated by Cicero, *Against Verres*, 5.163, 165.
- 212 *I. I.*, XIII, 3, 60, 78.
- 213 Livy, 29.37.2.
- 214 Coarelli 1995h.
- 215 Livy, 33.27.3–5. Stertinius had two other similar arches put up along the path of the triumphal march, in front of the temple of Fortuna and the temple of *Mater Matuta* (VIII 801, 1030).
- 216 Coarelli 1996v. Livy, 36.26.5–6.
- 217 Cicero, *Brutus*, 73.
- 218 Livy, 39.7.8.
- 219 Statues identified as *Pollentia* can be recognized in some portrayals of the circus. They are shown near the egg-and-dolphin lap-counting mechanisms (see following discussion).
- 220 Livy, 40.2.1–3.
- 221 Julius Obsequens, 8.
- 222 The *ova* were consecrated to the Dioscuri (Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.3), gods who were connected to the equestrian *ludi* (Horace, *Satires*, 2.1.26–27; *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poetarum*, 1.197.18) and also identified with the Lares worshipped at the Altar of Consus (see following discussion). This interpretation matches the location of the cult, which was located in line with the point at which the racing horses turned and the risk was greatest for the charioteers (Marcattili 2009, page 198).
- 223 Livy, 41.27.6.
- 224 Probably consul in 179 and censor in 174 BC.
- 225 Valerius Maximus, 8.15.12; Pliny, *Natural History*, 7.120; Solinus, 1.126; Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.6 (*apud metas ... Murcias*).
- 226 Julius Obsequens, 3737; Orosius, 5.15.22; Cassius Dio, 26.87.
- 227 Marcattili 2009.
- 228 Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.133–162.
- 229 Pliny and Suetonius write of significant modifications by Caesar that gave the circus its monumental and definitive form (Pliny, *Natural History*, 36.24.102; Suetonius, *Caesar*, 39.2). Pliny describes the building's measurements as being three stadia long and one stadium wide.
- 230 These were the celebrations of his military victories in Gaul, Egypt, Syria, and Africa (Suetonius, *Caesar*, 37).
- 231 See § 2.7.
- 232 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 3.68.2–3. Dionysius lived in Rome between 30 and 7 BC and describes the restoration by

- Augustus following the fire of 31 BC, during which the building was significantly damaged. Augustus restored the Caesarean building without modifying its structure. Thus, Dionysius's description is considered indicative of the original appearance.
- 233** Dionysius's system of measurement was the Attic system, based on a foot that measured 29.6 cm.
- 234** Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.21.
- 235** The *cavea* could accommodate 150,000 spectators, according to Dionysius, 250,000 according to Pliny.
- 236** See § 2.7.
- 237** See discussion regarding the lap counter shaped like a dolphin that shot water from its mouth.
- 238** Cassius Dio, 49.43.2. The egg-shaped lap counter near the first finish line is certain to have already existed in 174 BC (see previous discussion). The dolphins were put up near the second finish line, as can be deduced from the numerous iconographic portrayals of the circus.
- 239** This identification had already been intuited by Lugli 1952–69, vol. 8, tables 13–23.
- 240** Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 2.31.2–3.
- 241** Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 5.5–7.
- 242** Degrassi 1963, pages 17, 29, 48, 481.
- 243** *Ibid.*, pages 24, 83, 138, 210, 481.
- 244** *Consus consilio, Mars duello, Lares coillo potentes* (Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 5.7). The inscription refers to three types of unions that the gods of that place oversaw: the peaceful one (*consilium*), the conflictual or warring one (*duellum*), and the sexual one (*coillum/coitum*). See Carafa 2010a.
- 245** See below.
- 246** Marcattili 2009, pages 83–107.
- 247** Festus, page 126L. Coarelli refutes this hypothesis and identifies it as the *mundus* of the Comitia (*Regio VIII*).
- 248** This is Cato's explanation in Festus, page 144L. Otherwise, it may refer to the dome of the underground room.
- 249** Cassius Dio, 50.10.3.
- 250** Suetonius, *Augustus*, 30. The first mention of the *Regiones* is in 7 BC (Cassius Dio, 55.8.7).
- 251** A passage in Pliny (*Natural History*, 3.5.66) establishes a direct connection between *Regiones*, *compita*, and the gates of the new subdivisions of the city. Additionally, the barracks (*cohortes*) of the fire brigades (which had also been organized by Augustus) were set up near the gates. There were seven barracks, one for every two *Regiones*, in addition to fourteen guard posts (*excubitoria*), one for each region. See Coarelli 1988a, pages 54–59.
- 252** See § 2.5.
- 253** In addition to these, other gates were restored in those years, as shown by a relevant inscription: *porta Carmentalis* (*Regio VIII*) and the Arch of Dolabella and Silanus, which can be identified with *porta Caelimontana* (II 9).
- 254** *Imp(erator) Caesar Divi filius Augustus pont(ifex) max(imus) ex s(enatus) c(onsultus) refecit* (CIL, VI 878). The arch was therefore certainly put up after 12 BC, when Augustus took the title of *pontifex maximus* (high priest). The new gate has been identified as the arch that existed through to the fifteenth century on the road that led to *pons Aemilius*. Numerous documents from that period mention this arch (see Coarelli 1988a, pages 50–51).
- 255** CIL, VI 897–98. The chronology of these bases also provides a timescale for the construction of the Arch of Augustus.
- 256** Flavio Biondo, *De Roma instaurata*, 1503, 7.20.
- 257** Coarelli 1993c. CIL, VI 1385. The consuls in charge inherited the task of restoring the city gates, which had been handled directly by Augustus, at first.
- 258** The altar is decorated with an oak crown on the front. This crown has been linked to the one awarded to Augustus (27 BC) for having brought an end to the civil wars. Flanking the crown are the *patena* and the *urceus*, which were a ritual cup and jug. There is an inscribed dedication on the upper part. The date of the altar falls between the year Augustus took the title of *pontifex maximus* and the year the *Regiones* were created, when the cult of the Lares Compitales developed (see following discussion). On the cult of *Concordia Augusta*, see Vaglieri 1900; Taylor 1931, page 225.
- 259** *Concordi[ae] Aug(ustae) sacr(um)*.
- 260** Suetonius (*Augustus*, 57.1) reports that among these statues were those of Apollo Sandalarius and Jupiter Tragoedus. A similar monument was dedicated to Mercury on Esquiline Hill. We also know that *Concordia* is indicated, along with *Salus Publica* and *Pax*, among the goddesses to whom the emperor dedicated statues in 11 BC (Cassius Dio). A similar complex, made up of an altar with a statue, is found in Augustus's home on Palatine Hill. That complex was dedicated to the Lares (X 14). Colini interprets the monument dedicated to Concordia as a *compitum* (Colini 1970–71).
- 261** Coarelli 1999y. CIL, VI 9626 = ILS 7267.
- 262** The *statio annonae* is mentioned solely in a funerary inscription that cites the *fiscus stationis annonae* (CIL, VI 9626 = ILS 7267).
- 263** See § 2.3.
- 264** Nearby, between the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin and the Tiber, inscriptions regarding the prefect of provisions were found (CIL, VI 1151 = 31248 = ILS 707; CIL, VI 31856 = ILS 1327).
- 265** The collar belonging to the slave of the *officialis* of the *praefectus annonae* indicated the slave's "address" in the area near the Temple of Flora and the barbers (*tonsors*) (CIL, XV 7172).
- 266** CIL, VI 9976. Other *vestiarii* shops were found in the area around the Forum Boarium and the *Velabrum* (CIL, VI 9976, 33920, 33923, 37826).
- 267** The *ad Tonsors* (LTUR) toponym is attested to by its mention on a slave's collar from the fourth century. This is confirmed by another inscription mentioning a *tonsor de circum* (CIL, VI 31900).
- 268** Cressedi 1984, page 272, note 28; page 273, note 30.
- 269** Cassius Dio, 50.10.3.
- 270** *Naòs* (temple) is the term used to indicate the *pulvinar* in the Greek version of the *Res Gestae* (*Deeds of the Divine Augustus*, 19).
- 271** In the mosaic of Luni (early fifth century AD) the façade of the building is shown as being hexastyle, with a gabled roof and a tympanum with a corona and terminal acroterions (Luni, Casa dei Mosaici). Unlike temples, the *pulvinar* had no pronaos and no cell. The internal space was instead divided by four square pillars (Severan *Forma Urbis*, fragment 8g).
- 272** Suetonius, *Augustus*, 45.1. In the mosaic of Luni, it appears as a hexastyle temple with at least a canopy inside for the imperial family. Normally, Augustus watched the circus spectacles from the *moenianum* from his home or that of his freedmen (see *Regio X*).
- 273** Grenier 1996; John the Lydian, *De mensibus*, 1.12.
- 274** Known as the Flaminio obelisk, it was found in fragments during the reign of Pope Sixtus V in 1587. Twelve years later, it was erected in its current location.
- 275** At the same time, a second, smaller obelisk was also brought from the same Sanctuary of *Heliopolis*, and put up in the Campus Martius as a meridian monument (IX 149).
- 276** Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.1.2.
- 277** CIL, VI 701–2.
- 278** Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies*, 18.31).
- 279** Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies*, 18.31): *e medio spatio ab utraque meta*.
- 280** According to this reconstruction, the obelisk represented the summer solstice, while the cults of Consus and Ceres at the ends of the axis were the winter solstice (see Marcattili 2009). The obelisk would also constitute the third element on the circus

dedicated to the Sun, after the temple on the Aventine side and the altar on the axis.

281 These sources are a series of sarcophagi with erotes races that can be dated to the second century AD (see, for example, Vatican City, Museo Chiaramonti, Inv. 657, circa AD 150; sarcophagus with erotes races, Foligno, Museo di Palazzo Trinci).

282 Mosaic with quadriga race, Barcelona, Museu d'Arqueologia.

283 Cassius Dio, 56.27.4–5.

284 Juvenal, *Satires*, 6; Martial, 11.52.10, 13.32.1–2.

285 *CIL*, VI 9671.

286 *Ibid.*, VI 9993.

287 *Ibid.*, VI 9184.

288 *Ibid.*, VI 37803.

289 *Ibid.*, VI 33933.

290 *Ibid.*, VI 467.

291 Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.49.

292 They certainly did not exist in the mid-imperial period (Solinus, 1.8). New salt fields were planted in the area of Testaccio (*Regio XIII*) in the modern period, reviving ancient practice.

293 *CIL*, VI 919.

294 Ciafardoni and Tavolieri 2010.

295 Symmachus, *Relationes*, 23.9. This is the identification hypothesized in Coarelli 1979, page 74. According to Chastagnol, the office should have been in the court of the *praefectus urbi*, below the imperial office on the slopes of Palatine Hill (1960, pages 251–53).

296 Cassius Dio, 58.25.6; Tacitus, *Annals*, 6.45.1; *Fasti Ostiensi*, AD 36; (*I. I.*, 13.1, note 5).

297 Cassius Dio, 58.26.5.

298 Tacitus, *Annals*, 6.45.1; Cassius Dio, 58.26.5.

299 Suetonius, *Caligula*, 18.3.

300 Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.53.

301 Suetonius, *Claudius*, 21.3; Cassius Dio, 60.7.4.

302 Suetonius, *Nero*, 11.1; Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.32.1.

303 Pliny, *Natural History*, 8.7.21.

304 Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8; Servius, *Commentary on Virgil's Aeneid*, 9.702; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carmina*, 23.259–260; John the Lydian, *De mensibus*, 1.12; Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, 3.51.8.

305 Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.27.90.

306 Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.53.

307 *Ibid.*, 15.38.1.

308 *Ibid.*, 15.41.1.

309 Cassius Dio, 63.1.1.

310 Suetonius, *Nero*, 25.2.

311 The arch could be traced back to 196 BC (see § 2.5).

312 Pliny lists it along with the *basilica Pauli* and the *forum Divi Augusti*. He also provides a brief description of it, which, in parts, is quite unlike that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus's. According to Pliny, the building was 3 stadia long and 1 stadium wide and could contain 250,000 spectators (*Natural History*, 36.24.102).

313 *CIL*, VI 944. The inscription was copied by the anonymous monk of Einsiedeln (ninth century) when the arch was still well preserved.

314 See the mosaics of Piazza Armerina and Luni, as well as the Foligno relief. The measurements of the arch are reported on fragments 7a–e, 8a–h, and 9 of the Severan *Forma Urbis*. See Peters 2015.

315 To allow for the passage of the triumphal procession under the arch, the steps were probably covered with a wooden ramp that was then removed after the ceremony.

316 This was the first arch with three archways that employed an applied order, meaning that the columns were completely detached from the body of the monument so that they corresponded with the pilasters.

317 Suetonius, *Domitian*, 5.

318 The square columns on the outside were made in *opus quadratum* using peperino and probably covered in marble, while the rest of the structure was in *opus latericium* with a tuff conglomerate.

319 Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51.4–5.

320 Suetonius, *Domitian*, 4.1.7.

321 *CIL*, VI 955, see following discussion.

322 Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51.3.5; Pausanias, 5.12.6; Cassius Dio, 68.7.2.

323 Suetonius, *Domitian*, 5.

324 Severan *Forma Urbis*, fragments 7–9.

325 Lanciani 1893–1901, tables 29, 34–35.

326 The layout of this final sector and its limit is not known, but has been reconstructed based on fragments of the Severan *Forma Urbis*. On the archaeological evidence from the circus see Buonfiglio 2014a and Buonfiglio and Zanzi 2014.

327 Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51.44–45.

328 *Locorum quinque milia adiecisti* (Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51.2–5).

329 *CIL*, VI 955. It can be hypothesized that this enlargement included two new rows, which would have been enough to contain the new seats if they were arranged around the entire *cavea*.

330 Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 51.3–5; Arena 2010, page 115 and following pages.

331 One of the shops facing onto the road, near the *pulvinar*, must have belonged to a fruit seller (*pomarius de Circo Maximo ante pulvinar*) named Gaius Julius Epaphra, who was a freedman of the imperial family. His burial inscription has been found (*CIL*, VI 9822 = *ILS* 7492, XI 420).

332 The ground's lack of cohesion (due to its being a floodplain) may have contributed to the structure's fragility. Usually, in order to strengthen foundations built on this kind of terrain, piles or masonry rings were employed, as seen, for example, in the Theater of Marcellus (IX 163).

333 *Chronography of 354*, (Valentini and Zucchetti 1940–53, vol. 1, page 276); *Augustan History: Antoninus Pius*, 9.1. The term *columna partectorum* refers to the *summa cavea in ligneis*.

334 Marcattili 2009, page 161; Humphrey 1986, pages 145–48.

335 See the mosaic of Piazza Armerina and the reliefs in the Vatican. Some of the pink granite columns found in the area of the *carceres* (XI 152) at the beginning of the twentieth century may have belonged to this structure.

336 Juvenal, *Satires*, 11.193; Suetonius, *Nero*, 22. Such tribunes are portrayed in many iconographic sources, including the Foligno relief, the Vatican reliefs, and the mosaics of Piazza Armerina and Girona. They appeared for the first time on the aurei and sestertii of Caracalla from AD 213.

337 Regarding this hypothesis, see Pennestri 1989, pages 402–5; Marcattili 2009, pages 170–80.

338 See the mosaic of Italica (fig. 157) and the mosaic of Piazza Armerina.

339 Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, 6. Cybele is also significantly identified with Ceres, whose temple was in the area near the *carceres* (Augustine, *City of God*, 7.16).

340 Valentini and Zucchetti 1940–53.

341 The term *pruning* is present only in Columella, 11.1.12, and Pliny, *Natural History*, 18.330.

342 Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, 8.

343 Porphyry, *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, 22; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.21.16.

344 Jupiter is often associated with tree cults. For example, the cult of *Jupiter Fagutalis* was in a grove of beech trees (see *Regio III*).

345 This slope is shown in a relief depicting scenes from the circus, which is now in the Vatican Museums.

346 *Praesidet euripo* (understood as a synonym for the circus's axis; Tertullian, *On the Spectacles*, 8.5). A less likely identification

- is with the *aedes* of the Catalogues (see Ciancio Rossetto 1996), since the term *aedes* cannot refer to a statue.
- 347 Statue of Cybele on a Lion in Villa Doria Pamphili.
- 348 Julian, *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*, 7–8.
- 349 Humphrey 1986, page 273; De Maria 1988, page 285.
- 350 On the temple of *Magna Mater* and the relationship between the *Claudii* and Cybele, see *Regio X*.
- 351 *CIL*, VI 40414–15. See Panciera 1980, note 11; tables 49, 3, 50, 1 u, 50, 2. Tacitus reports many catastrophic events in AD 51, including the earthquakes that caused homes to collapse, killing many people (*Annals*, 13.43.1).
- 352 De Sanctis 1892–1905, page 29.
- 353 Many of these have been documented for the following period (see § 2.8).
- 354 Ovid, *Fasti*, 5.669–74. The path of the *aqua Mercurii*, which began on Caelian Hill (II 200), is difficult to reconstruct. This is due to the fact that there are no archeological remains that can be attributed to the aqueduct with certainty. After having crossed *Regio I*, it may have run parallel to *Circus Maximus*, probably under the road at the foot of Palatine Hill. The water may have then been collected in the cisterns under the Church of Sant’Anastasia (X 825).
- 355 Cressedi 1984, page 272, note 26.
- 356 Regarding the reconstruction of the complex in this period, and the different hypotheses regarding its dating, see Torelli 2006.
- 357 Dareggi 2002, with the bibliography therein. Among the most famous portraits is the bust in the Capitoline Museums.
- 358 *CIL*, VI 312 (dedicated by Lucius Fabius Cilo in AD 204); 313 (dedicated by Marcus Cassius Hortensius Paulinus under Commodus); 318 (dedicated by Publius Cadius Sabinus, praetor between the end of Commodus’s reign and the beginning of the Severan period).
- 359 For an architectural comparison, see, for example, the colonnaded enclosure known as *Las Incantadas* in Thessaloniki, datable to between the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries AD.
- 360 Caryatid head from piazza Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Capitoline Museums (Inv. 2436); caryatid head from piazza dei Cerchi (now via dell’Ara Massima di Ercole), Museo delle Terme (Inv. 52575); caryatid from the Justinian Collection, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek (Inv. 286). A fourth caryatid from the same collection seems to have different dimensions (Justinian Collection, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 301).
- 361 The traditional identification of the colonnade as the *Statio Annonae* indicated by Giovan Battista de Rossi (1885) was definitively refuted by Coarelli (1988a, pages 75–77). For an in-depth architectural study of the structure, see Fusciello 2001, 2011.
- 362 *CIL*, VI 317 (dedicated by Gaius Julius Pomponius Pudens Severianus, third century AD); 314 (dedicated by Titus Flavius Julianus Quadratianus, Marcus Nummius Caenionius Albinus, Julius Festus, and Pompeius Appius Faustinus, final years of the third century AD); 315 (dedicated by Marcus Junius Caesonius Nicomachus Anicius Faustus Paulinus in AD 321); 316 (dedicated by a certain Perpetuus that may be dated to the beginning of the fourth century AD); 319 (dedicated by Junius Veldumnianus, praetor at the end of the 270s AD).
- 363 The association between the inscriptions and the restructuring in this period relies on the commonly accepted chronology for the stucco decoration, which can be set, at the latest, in the fourth century AD (Torelli 2006). A different hypothesis was previously advanced by Coarelli, who proposed dating the new colonnade to the late ancient period, based on a later chronology of the stucco decoration (end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth centuries AD) and on two inscriptions found in the area of Santa Maria in Cosmedin (*CIL*, VI 1659, 1677). These inscriptions mention work and restoration on an unspecified monument (Coarelli 1988a, pages 73–76).
- 364 For its chronology, see Ciafardoni and Tavolieri 2010, page 52.
- 365 *Ibid.*, page 50.
- 366 *Chronography of 354* (Valentini and Zucchetti 1940–53, vol. 1, page 277).
- 367 *Augustan History: Elagabalus*, 23.1.
- 368 *Augustan History: Life of Probus*, 19.2–4; *Chronography of 354* (Valentini and Zucchetti 1940–53, vol. 1, page 279).
- 369 *Chronography of 354* (Valentini and Zucchetti 1940–53, vol. 1, page 280).
- 370 For more on this road, see *Regio XII*.
- 371 Severan *Forma Urbis*, fragments 7b–e.
- 372 A scholia on Virgil from the fourth to the fifth centuries indicates the position of the ancient woods dedicated to Hercules near the *ara Maxima* as being in the location that was called the *Velabrum* in his time (Veronese scholia on Virgil, *Aeneid*, 8.104). For more on this, see Guidobaldi and Angelelli 1999, page 105.
- 373 The road to the west went over the underground chambers north of the *Cloaca Maxima* (XI 24, 221).
- 374 In 1827, when the medieval fortifications of the Frangipani (which had incorporated the arch and walled up the archways) were demolished, the attic of the Roman monument was also destroyed because it was thought to be a medieval addition.
- 375 See the reconstruction of the slightly older Arch of Malborghetto, which was erected in celebration of Constantine’s victory at *Saxa Rubra*.
- 376 Bianchi Bandinelli, Torelli 2005, page 245.
- 377 Most of the stamps belong to the period of Theoderic (474–526) and Athalaric (526–34). See Giovenale 1927, page 80. Coarelli hypothesizes that its transformation into an oratory may have been contemporary with a restoration by Glabrio, which would have taken place in the same period as the colonnade itself. For more on the matter, see § 2.8 (Coarelli 1988a, pages 75–77).
- 378 Giovenale 1927, pages 325–33.
- 379 Aurelius Victor, *de Caesaribus*, 40.27.
- 380 Nazarius, *Panegyric of Constantine*, 4.35. A second egg-shaped lap-counting mechanism must have been present on the track in this period (XI 421). It is shown in the mosaic of Piazza Armerina, in the area near the first finish line, in front of the *carceres*, next to an unidentified circular shrine (XII 422) (Marcattili 2009, page 192).
- 381 Regarding the possibility that the emperor later decided the obelisk should go to Constantinople, see Marcattili 2009, pages 233–39.
- 382 Ammianus Marcellinus, 17.4.12–14.
- 383 *CIL*, VI 1163 (31249) (= ILS 736).
- 384 After having been knocked down, perhaps by Totila in 547, it was found in pieces in 1587 and put up the next year on the western side of the basilica. This was the desire of Sixtus V, that it might be seen from the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore.
- 385 Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 3.51.
- 386 Procopius, *Gothic War*, 3.37.4.